HOOK · THE COMPOUND VERB IN HINDI

The University of Michigan
Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies

THE COMPOUND VERB IN HINDI

by

PETER EDWIN HOOK
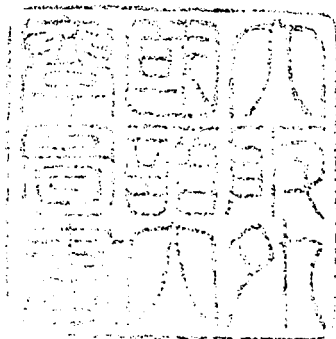
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INDEX

CONTENTS

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xxii

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act   aaxirii caTaan tak by Mohan Rakesh. Varanasi:
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as   Ahmad Siddique, Faculty of Law, University of Del-
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cu   A Course in Urdu (Barker 1967).

g   godaan by Premchand. As cited in Gaeffke 1967.

Gaban   Gaban by Premchand. As cited in Gaeffke 1967.

godaan   godaan by Premchand. As cited in Gaeffke 1967.

hvo   Herman Van Olphen 1970.

k   karmabhuumii by Premchand. As cited in Gaeffke
1967.

kb64   Kalicharan Bahl 1964.

kb67   Kalicharan Bahl 1967.

kk2   kahaanii kusum, volume 2. Poona: Maharashtra Rash-
trabhasha Sabha, 1963.

mhk   maanak hindi koS, 5 volumes. Prayag: Hindi Sahitya
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mpk   merii priy kahaaniyAA by Mohan Rakesh. Delhi: Raj-
pal and Sons, 1971.

n   nirmala by Premchand. As cited in Gaeffke 1967.

nak   na aanewaalaa kal by Mohan Rakesh. New Delhi: Hind
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pcr   See pr.

pg   Peter Gaeffke 1967.

pr   A Premchand Reader by Zide, Masica, Bahl and
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r   rangbhuumii by Premchand. As cited in Gaeffke
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rlup   Readings in Literary Urdu Prose by G. C. Narang.
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shS   soyaa huaa Sahr by Mohan Rakesh. In mile jule
cehre (a collection of stories by Rakesh). Del-
hi: Radhakrishna Prakashan, 1969.

vl   V. P. Liperovskij 1962.

vp 67   Vincenc Pořízka 1967

TRANSCRIPTION

Transliteration of Hindi utterances into Roman is made on the basis of the following equivalences:

@ = a vocalic segment realizable as <u>aa</u>, <u>e</u>, <u>ii</u> or <u>II</u>.[1]

á	= अ	Dh	= ढ	kh	= ख	s	= स
A	= अँ	e	= ए	l	= ल	S	= श, ष
aa	= आ	E	= एँ	m	= म	t	= त
AA	= आँ	f	= फ़	n	= न[2]	T	= ट
ai	= ऐ	g	= ग	n̄	= ङ	th	= थ
AI	= ऐं	G	= ग़	N̄	= ण	Th	= ठ
au	= औ	gh	= घ	o	= ओ	u	= उ
AU	= औं	h	= ह	O	= ओं	U	= उँ
b	= ब	i	= इ	p	= प	uu	= ऊ
bh	= भ	I	=	ph	= फ	UU	= ऊँ
c	= च	ii	=	q	= क़	w	= व
ch	= छ	II	=	r	= र	x	= ख़
d	= द	j	= ज	R	= ड़	y	= य
D	= ड	jh	= झ	Rh	= ढ़	z	= ज़
dh	= ध	k	= क	ri	= ऋ, रि		

Unpronounced schwas, either word-final or those deleted by rule[3], are not indicated in the transcription.

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[1] See Pray 1970, pp 41-43.

[2] <u>n</u> may also represent ञ when this is followed by <u>c</u>, <u>ch</u>, <u>j</u> or <u>jh</u>.

[3] See Pray 1970, p 93, for a formulation of this rule.

Section One: Introductory Remarks

Anyone who has taught Hindi to Westerners will have remarked their bewilderment when first confronted with a verb sequence such as that in

a   andar aa jaao   come in!

       (literally: inside come go!)

and their surprise when told that a compound sequence such as aa jaao means essentially the same thing (in English, at least) as the single verb in

b   andar aao   come in!

       (literally: inside come!)

There usually follows a spate of questions: What is the difference in meaning between aao and aa jaao? When does one use the one? When, the other? It is to help provide the conscious and explicit knowledge needed to answer questions such as these that this essay on the compound verb in Hindi has been written.

The body of this work is in two parts: The first part (Section Three) examines and elaborates the formal and semantic criteria needed to define the class of compound verbs distinct from other types of verb-verb sequences in Hindi. This section ends with a list of the twenty-two[1] "vector verbs" which in combination with the main verbs of Hindi form the class of compound verbs.

The second part (Section Four) deals with the question that most grammarians skirt: What does the compound verb mean? Two important attempts have already been made to answer this question: Hacker 1958 (who concludes that the compound verb expresses Bestimmtheit 'definiteness' and functions in opposition to the simple verb as Stilmittel 'stylistic device'[2]) and Pořízka 1967, 1968, 1969 (who compares the opposition simple:compound verb in Hindi to that of imperfective:perfective verb in the Slavic and Baltic languages.[3])

Although the conclusions reached by these two writers need not be conceived of as conflicting with one another nor is either of them incompatible with the ones we reach here; it is nonetheless true that neither of

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1/ Twenty-four if one includes the two anti-vectors paa and sak. See below, section 3.2.6.

2/ Hacker's views are set forth in greater detail in 4.1.

3/ Pořízka's thesis provides a point of departure for the conception of the function of the simple:compound verb developed here. See sections 4.1.1, 4.2.3 and 4.5.

them is specific enough to be of much help to those attempting to teach students how and when to use the compound verb in Hindi.[4] It is here that we feel that the present essay makes its major (though not only) contribution.

A few semantic and syntactic environments conditioning the unique (or preferred) occurrence of the simple verb have been noted before now.[5] To these we add a great many more, not only of those that condition the simple verb, but a number of semantic environments which condition the unique (or preferred) occurrence of the compound. Not only is a knowledge of these environments an end in itself for those teaching or learning Hindi, but also the attempt to relate their semantic properties to the aspectual contrast postulated as the basic content of the simple:compound opposition throws further light on the communicative functions of this aspectual contrast.[6]

4/ For instance, it is clear that the following generalization concerning compound verbs in jaa would not be of much practical assistance to the learner faced with the task of deciding whether the expression of a given action in Hindi should be via a simple verb or a compound: "Modified verbal expressions with jaanaa simply denote an action as marked with regard to its realization as such." Porizka 1969, p 43.

5/ These include those discussed in sections 4.1.2, 4.3. 2.1, 4.3.2.2, 4.3.2.8, 4.3.2.9 and 4.3.2.10.

6/ For the concept of "communicative function" (as opposed to "semantic contrast") see section 4.1.3.

Section Two: Methodological Remarks

Kalicharan Bahl, who of all those who have turned
serious attention to the problem of the compound verb in
Indo-Aryan languages must be considered the one most
highly qualified in terms of background in modern linguis-
tic theory and knowledge of the languages in question be-
gins his lengthy essay on the compound verb in Hindi[1]
with the following quotation from Hacker 1961:

> "The Khari Boli is a literary language. It is
> therefore legitimate and necessary that its syn-
> tax should be studied not only as the syntax of
> a colloquial language but also, and specially,
> as the syntax of a literary language, i. e. that
> the material for the investigation should be
> taken from literary texts. ...The aid of persons
> who can be said to have Hindi as their mother
> tongue cannot, however, be dispensed with. But
> it has to be borne in mind that the questioning
> of informants includes sources of error. Inter-
> pretations and answers and comments given by in-
> formants can be used only as materials, not as
> solutions. They have to be tested by comparison
> with the results obtained from the observation

---

[1] See Bahl 1967, Preface, second page.

of the literary material, and these results may
again be tested in conversations and questions.
Such procedures are, however, only accessory.
The interpretation of the texts yields its re-
sults independently of informants' comments." 2/

It seems to us that limiting themselves to infer-

ences made solely on the basis of textual attestation has

hindered Poŕízka,[3] Hacker and, especially, Bahl in their

investigations of the functions of the compound verb for

several reasons: I. There is no more unity of usage in

written Hindi than in spoken. However, while speakers

can indicate that certain of their speech patterns are

not acceptable to one another; writers cannot. II. More

generally, written documents cannot provide us with nega-

tive information. While it may be crucial for the demon-

stration of a given analysis of a form to know that the

form in question cannot (or is less likely to) be used in

a given meaning, it is not possible to infer this from an

attestation of that form in some other meaning or from

its absence altogether no matter how large the corpus of

random[4] literary utterance. III. Written documents (as

well as oral attestations captured "on the wing" as it

were by hidden recorders) can never provide the sets of

2/ Quoted by Bahl 1967 from Hacker 1961, p 507.

3/ Poŕízka more than the other two has recourse to nega-
   tive data elicited from informants. See Porizka 1969,
   p 26 and p 30. (Cited below in section 4.1.1 ad fn 8)

4/ Random with respect to what the linguist needs to
   prove a point.

minimally different utterances[5] which one needs in order to identify and define elements of meaning with respect to elements of form.

Our methodology has been based, therefore, on the eliciting of responses or reactions to utterances which we present to speakers of Hindi. As Hacker justly notes there are certain pitfalls in this approach. We have become aware of the following: I. Different speakers have different conceptions of the task that is being demanded of them. II. Different speakers have different conceptions of what an 'acceptable', 'less acceptable' or 'unacceptable' sentence is. III. Some speakers, if uncomfortable with the utterance as given, tend to react positively not to it, but to some modification, extension or contraction of it. (The most dangerous here is the respondent who reasons by analogy: "I can say this sentence in the past, the present and the future; therefore, it must be alright to use it in the imperative, too, (although it does sound awfully strange!)" It is good to have respondents who think out loud.) IV. Speakers may react to a given utterance in a meaning different from that intended by the investigator.

The first two dangers can be avoided only by care-

5/ Such as those that are used in the traditional method of semantic analysis: anvayavyatireka.

ful explanation to the respondent of what he is to do,
what he is to avoid and what criteria he is to use in
responding to an utterance ('I use this freely in this
meaning' = '+'; 'This is not altogether wrong but I pre-
fer an alternant way of saying it' = 'W(orse)', etc.).
The third and fourth dangers can occasionally be turned
to advantage. If the investigator suspects that a given
alternative is not the preferred means of expressing a
given meaning, he can deliberately present it first and
see if the respondent spontaneously comes up with the
better alternative.[6] He can ask the respondent to extend
or modify the context to make a given form 'sound better'.
If a respondent reacts in an unexpected or exceptional
way to a given utterance, he can be asked to give an ex-
planation of what the utterance means to him and in what
situation it might be used. Often such exceptional reac-
tions turn out to provide corroborative evidence for an
analysis that predicts an opposite reaction to an utter-
ance in the meaning intended by the investigator: The
interpretation under which it is acceptable to the re-
spondent is in consonance with its deviance in the in-
terpretation given to it by the investigator.[7]

6/ Cf Greenbaum and Quirk's "operation tests": 1970, p 3.

7/ An example of the utility of such an exceptional re-
action is the acceptance of sentence o2 in section
4.3.2.1.5 by speaker p in the face of four rejections.
This is pursued in section 4.5, ad sentence set al-2.

8

The most important caution, of course, is against accepting a respondent's explanations at face value. Whatever he may say about the meaning of one form as opposed to another must be verified by indirect means. It is on the design of these means of indirect evidence that the justice of all the statements made in this work depends.

In general, evidence for a given analysis here is a function of the differential reactance of two competing forms to a common modification in their syntactic or semantic environment. That is, if the preferability of one of two alternative forms is canceled or reversed by the addition, subtraction or reversal of some feature of meaning or structure in the utterance, such a change in relative acceptability is deemed to reflect the incompatibility of the given alternant's meaning or potential complementarities (traditionally, apekSaa) with the meaning or apekSaa of the added or modified element. From such incompatibilities, it is possible to deduce or demonstrate the meaning of that alternative, given our knowledge of the meaning of the differentiating element (and provided, of course, that both alternatives do not become unacceptable under the given alteration).

An example:[8] Two speakers find a normal compound

8/ Taken from section 3.2.2, see sentence set e1-4.

verb and a reversed sequence (in a and b, respectively)
to be roughly equivalent in a given utterance:

a   us ne jhaTke se lagaam khIIc dii +p   (Worse: +b)

b   us ne jhaTke se lagaam de khIIcii +pb

       he jerked back on the reins

In both a and b we have the element jhaTke se 'sharply;
with a jerk' which implies a certain vehemence or vio-
lence of action. If we replace this element with one of
opposite meaning such as aahiste se 'slowly; gently', we
find a sharp difference in the speakers' reactions to the
two alternant forms:

c   us ne aahiste se lagaam khIIc dii +pb

d   us ne aahiste se lagaam de khIIcii *pb

       he gently pulled back on the reins

From the compatibility of the reversed sequence with an
adverb of vehemence and its incompatibility with an ad-
verb expressing gentleness, we may conclude that reversal
of a verb sequence itself expresses a greater degree of
violence in the performance of the action expressed by
the corresponding unreversed sequence.

Thus, the typical schema of indirect evidence con-
tains four utterances across which are permuted two well-
defined differences[9]. The reactions of the speakers are
typically confined to assent or dissent or to stating a

9/ In sentences abcd these are: I. reversal of sequence:
   normal order, and II. jhaTke se:aahiste se.

preference. Direct testimony of speakers concerning the difference in meaning between form x and form y, although of enormous aid in the genesis of hypotheses, is never depended on as the support for final analyses.

It will be noticed that there is a great deal of variation in the reactions of speakers and even that there is variation in the degree of variation from utterance to utterance. The correct evaluation of this variation depends to a large degree on what it is that it is intended to demonstrate. The following limiting relations between variation and type of conclusion may be noted: I. If an individual speaker varies in his response to a given item from exposure to exposure, his response (along usually with the item itself) is not used as evidence. II. If it is intended to establish the bare existence of a given form (such as the unusual sequences in section 3.6) the assent of a single speaker is deemed sufficient. III. If it is intended to establish the meaning or other function of a given form (via some restriction on its co-occurrence with other forms), then agreement among at least half the respondents is considered sufficient to qualify as evidence.[10]

It will be noted that no individual speaker agrees

_____

[10] This arbitrary figure has been chosen only to ensure the reader's interest in the conclusions drawn. Consensus among speakers can of course have no bearing on what might happen to hold for any individual.

to all the functions (or co-occurrence restrictions[11])
reported here for the simple:compound verb. However,
since we are attempting to relate almost all of them to
a single basic semantic contrast (as that is mapped into
the simple:compound opposition), this is not a matter of
crucial importance: Each speaker agrees to enough of
these functions and restrictions to make the case for
the central thesis on an individual by individual basis.

Occasionally disagreement among speakers on an
individual utterance is consistent with their disagree-
ment on some other point. For instance, speaker p's ac-
ceptance of 3.5.q3[12] follows from her acceptance of sen-
tence 3.5.o in the second meaning given[12]. As such her
exceptional reaction helps prove the point being made
about "shadows". The variation in the degree of variation
may itself become a significant fact from which inferen-
ces can be drawn both of a systematic[13] and a geographi-
cal[14] nature.

It is necessary to make a few observations concer-
ning variation and the category "Hindi". Whether or not

11/ The word 'restriction' seems a bit too absolute in its
connotations to be operable here. Perhaps 'preference'
or 'sensitivity' would be better.

12/ As against two dissenting voices.

13/ See the last paragraph in section 4.3.5.

14/ See the chart in section 3.2.2, ad fn 12, and the re-
marks in section 3.6.10, fn 1.

the conclusions we reach here apply to all Hindi speakers
(and only them), to some subset of them, or to a group of
speakers that includes those of Hindi as a subset, is a
question with which we are not directly concerned (al-
though it is a very interesting one). The answer would
probably depend as much as anything on one's definition
of Hindi. The information we give below concerning the
linguistic biography of the individual respondents should
place them sufficiently to allow them to be excluded or
included as speakers of Hindi in accordance with the va-
rying definitions of the term. Accordingly an independent
decision may be reached about the congruence of the term
"Hindi" with respect to the conclusions reported here for
the compound verb.[15] As a practical matter, we have ac-
cepted anyone as a speaker of Hindi who claimed to be one
and who used the common morphological categories (-y@[16],
-t@[17], k@[18], ko, ne) in the accustomed manner.[19]

15/ It is my own personal hunch that the functions repor-
ted here for the simple:compound verb must be nearly
identical in all the Indo-Aryan languages spoken a-
cross the breadth of North India, Indus Valley Paki-
stan and Bangladesh. The area of functional identity
may be even larger: cf Masica 1971, pp 188-199.

16/ Defined in terms of its functions in Pray 1970, p 66.

17/ Defined in terms of function in Pray 1970, pp 65-66.

18/ The possessive marker. For @, see Pray 1970, pp 41-3.

19/ As this is defined by Pray 1970 in common with the
other grammars of Hindi listed in the Bibliography.

2.1 Linguistic histories of respondents

Major respondents:[1]

b   bhaarat mohan kukretii, 22 January 1941. Born and raised in Dehra Dun. Hindi was the first and only language spoken at home (although his parents used Garhwali as a code language). Between 1958 and 1964 lived in Varanasi where he learnt some Bhojpuri. Used to speak some Garhwali, too, on jobs in Musoorie and Dehra Dun. In the West since 1971.

p   pratibhaa kelaa, 1949. Born and raised in Dibai, district Bulandshahar, U. P. Hindi was the first and only language spoken at home. Attended college from 1965 to 1969 in Agra. Lived in Delhi from 1970 to 1972. In the West since 1972.

g   gobind tripaaThii keLkar, 1939. Born and raised in Hamirpur, district Etawah, U. P. A western Awadhi dialect (tum kaa karat hau 'what are you doing?') and Hindi learnt simultaneously as first languages at home. In English medium school in Lucknow from 1953 to 1963. Learnt some Urdu. Taught in both Hindi and English at Delhi from 1963 to 1969. In the West since 1969. Knows Chinese.

1/ Those who have responded to at least one third of the utterances in the text are considered "major respondents". Speakers b, p and g responded to all of the utterances in the text (except for some in 3.1.1).

14

d   sudhaa khannaa (now Mrs. David Irwin), 1949? Born
and raised in Pusa, Bihar. First and only language
at home was Hindi. Returned to Panjab in 1959 when
she learnt some Panjabi. Lived in various places
in Rajastan and the Panjab until 1972 when she en-
tered the West.

s   surendr paal singh, 1946. Born and raised in Saray
Jagannath, district Bulandshahar, U. P. Lived in
district Etawah from 1952 to 1962. Learnt some Ka-
nauji. In Agra from 1962 to 1964. In Kanpur from
1964 until 1969. In West since 1971?

t   subhaaS bhaaTnaagar, 1950? Raised in Delhi. First
and only language at home was Hindi. In Agra from
1967 to 1971. In the West since 1971.

            Other respondents:

a   awinaaS kelaa, 1944. Born in Gwalior, M. P. Lived
in Calcutta from 1948-1956. Hindi first and only
language at home. Knows Bengali. In the West since
1967.

S   aaSaa kumaar, 1950? Born in Lucknow. Knows both
Hindi and Panjabi. Has lived with Pahari speakers.

j   nuur maalik, 1935? Born and raised in West Panjab,
Pakistan. First language, Panjabi; second, Urdu.

v   harendar naath waasudew, 1933? Born and raised in
the Panjab. First language, Panjabi; second, Urdu.

i   SriikriSN siingh, 1945? Born and raised in Mau.
First language at home was Bhojpuri. From 1950
attended Hindi medium schools. College in Luck-
now. .In the West since 1967.

2.2 The categories of speaker response

+   the respondent freely uses the utterance in the
meaning indicated and/or accepts it in others as
perfectly good Hindi.

*   the respondent does not find the utterance accep-
table in the meaning indicated

?   the respondent is unable to decide whether the ut-
terance is acceptable or not

=   the respondent finds the utterance equivalent in
meaning to the other acceptable ones in the set

B   the utterance though unacceptable is better than
some other in the set

C   the utterance may be used to contradict the pre-
vious speaker (see section 3.3.2, first paragraph)

D, ≠   the utterance is not acceptable in the meaning
indicated but is perfectly good in a different mea-
ning (Usually this other meaning is indicated.)

JT   instead of meaning 'by then...already', tab tak
in the given utterance means 'just then'

16

K   the verb-verb sequence in the utterance occurs only in the meaning of <u>kar</u> (the marker of the conjunct(ive) sequence: see section 3.2.1)

O   the respondent has heard <u>o</u>thers using the utterance. Even so he does not accept it as fully acceptable for them nor at all for himself.

OK   the utterance is <u>ok</u>ay. Better than <u>O</u>, worse than <u>+</u>.

P   the utterance, unacceptable to the respondent, seems to him to be typical of speakers of <u>P</u>ahari when they speak in Hindi.

PJ   the utterance, unacceptable to the respondent, seems to him typical of the Hindi of <u>P</u>an<u>j</u>abi-speakers.

U   instead of 'by the time (that)' <u>jab tak</u> in the utterance given means 'up <u>until</u>...(keep on X-ing)'

V   the respondent associates the utterance with <u>v</u>illage speech. As an urban, educated speaker he avoids using it.

W   though acceptable in the meaning given, the utterance sounds <u>w</u>orse than some other in the set.

WW   worse than $\overline{W}$ (but still acceptable).

Assuming that a given utterance is to be read in the meaning indicated and in no other, degrees of acceptability may be partially ordered as follows: 1. <u>+</u>; 2. <u>OK</u>, <u>W</u>; 3. <u>WW</u>; 4. <u>O</u>, <u>P</u>, <u>PJ</u>, <u>V</u>; 5. <u>?</u>; 6. <u>B</u>; 7. <u>*</u>, <u>≠</u>, <u>D</u>, <u>JT</u>, <u>U</u>, <u>K</u>.

Section Three: Definitions

Definitions of the class of compound verbs under discussion have traditionally depended on a combination of formal and functional criteria. In formal terms a compound verb has consisted of a verb occurring as a bare stem followed by a secondary element that carries the desinence. This second element has been called 'explicator'[1],'auxiliary'[2] 'intensive auxiliary'[3], 'operator'[4], etc.[5] We follow Pray (1970) in calling this element the 'vector' or 'vector verb' since this seems to be the shortest name for it in use. In the example below likh is the 'main verb'; 'diyaa' is the desinential form of de, the 'vector verb'; and 'likh diyaa' is the 'compound verb' or 'vector sequence':

1/ Bahl, Van Olphen.   2/ Barker, Bailey.

3/ Pahwa.   4/ Kachru, Dwarikesh.

5/ See Por̆ízka (1967) for a review of these terms in English and other languages: pp 66-7.

a 1   mAI ne preziDeNT ko xat <u>likh diyaa</u> +ptgb

not possible in MOr (does not mean benefactive)

i wrote a letter to the president

Corresponding to the compound verb of al is the 'simple verb' <u>likhaa</u> of b:

b   mAI ne preziDeNT ko xat nahII <u>likhaa</u> +ptgb

i didn't write a letter to the president

While each compound verb has only one corresponding simple verb there may be more than one compound corresponding to a simple:

a 2   mAI ne preziDeNT ko xat <u>likh maaraa</u> +pbSit   PJg ?

3   <u>likh Daalaa</u> +pbg

3.1 The set of sets of 'vectors'

Regardless of whatever other criteria they may provide, writers on the subject invariably buttress their definition of the category 'vector verb' with a list. There is a great deal of disagreement among these lists. The class of vectors as defined by previous writers ranges from a minimum of eight to a maximum of fifty-one (Vale). Dwarikesh (1971) apparently is even more generous: "In the language of today, it seems that almost all the major verbs can be used as operators (vectors: ph)."[1]

In the chart below '+' means that the given writer includes the given item as a vector (or whatever

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[1]/ P 277. This view is questioned in Masica 1971, p 175.

may be the term equivalent); while 'x' means that he
specifically excludes the given item from that class.

#	Item	Bahl 1964	Bahl 1967	Bailey	Barannikov	Barker	Davidova	Dymšic	Guru	Hacker 1958	Kachru 1965	Kachru 1966	Kellogg	Masica mimeo	McGregor	Pahwa	Pořízka 1963	Pray 1970	Rocher	Sharma	Southworth	Vajpeyi	Van Olphen	Vale	
1	aa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	x	+	+	+	+			+		+	aa
2	uTh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	uTh
3	khaR@ ho				+												+								khaR@ ho
4	khaa													+										+	khaa
5	giraa													+											giraa
6	cal	+	+			+				x	+	+			+	+		+		+			+	+	cal
7	cuk	+	+	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x		x	+	x	x	+			+	x	+	cuk
8	choR	+	+	x	+		+	+							+		+						+	+	choR
9	jaa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	jaa
10	Tapak																					+	x		Tapak
11	Daal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	Daal
12	de	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	de
13	dekh													+											dekh
14	dauR														+									+	dauR
15	dhamak			x										+	+							+	x	+	dhamak
16	dhar																						+	+	dhar
17	dhaa															+								+	dhaa
18	nikal	+	+						+		+	+			+				+			+		+	nikal
19	nikaal													+	+										nikaal
20	paR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	paR

		Bahl 1964	Bahl 1967	Bailey	Barannikov	Barker	Davidova	Dymšic	Guru	Hacker 1958	Kachru 1965	Kachru 1966	Kellogg	Masica (mimeo)	McGregor	Pahwa	Pořízka 1963	Pray 1970	Rocher	Sharma	Southworth	Vajpeyi	Van Olphen	Vale	
21	pahUc		×								+	+		+			+					+		+	pahUc
22	paa	+	+		+			×	×	+				+	+	+	×	+		×	+	×	×	×	paa
23	baiTh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	baiTh
24	mAgaa							+																	mAgaa
25	mar		×																+		+	+		+	mar
26	maar		×								+	+		+	+				+			+		+	maar
27	mil		×																+					+	mil
28	rakh	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	×	+		+	+	+	+	×	+	+		+		+	rakh
29	rakh de																					+		+	rakh de
30	rah	+	+	+	+			+	+	×	+	+			+		×	+		+		+		+	rah
31	laa																					+		+	laa
32	le	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	le
33	le aa	+																							le aa
34	le jaa	+																							le jaa
35	sak	+	+	×		×		×	×	×	×	×	×	+	×	×	+		×			×		×	sak
	totals:	18	16	10	11	8	12	12	11	8	21	15	11	12	13	12	18	10	9	18	8	12	17	—	totals

(handwritten note) Why ?. NO total (Vale 51 H...

3.1.1 Examples of the use of 'vectors'

Not every writer has given instances of the use of the vector verbs he lists. Vale and Kachru, the two most generous in assigning items to this class, unfortunately provide no examples for most of these. Below we present such examples to the extent we have been able to track them down in works of Hindi prose or elicit them from informants. We include such examples for any item classed by any writer as a vector verb without regard to our own final conclusions as to what the list of vector verbs should or should not include.

Each vector is listed together with its meaning as a main verb, the authors who assign it to that class, and a list of main verbs with which it may co-occur if these number five or less. Uses with intransitive main verbs are given under 'a'; with transitive main verbs, under 'b'. Parentheses enclose references to prose works.

aa   'come'; listed by everyone except Pahwa and
         Vajpeyi

      a khiRkii ke baahar sAAjh <u>utar aane</u> par jhOpRii
        mE raat <u>ghir aatii hai</u> (act 2) +St   *g
        after evening descends outside the window it
        rushes into the hut

a 2 tabhii mujhe us kii kahii xuun karne kii baat

yaad ho aaii (act 9) +Sg   *t

then i remembered what he had said about com-

mitting murder

b   Guru (VS 2022) indicates that aa may follow

kah 'say' and bol 'speak' in the meaning of

vector uTh: p 318. His example is archaic.

uTh   'get up, rise'; listed by everyone.

a 1 us par ek cintaa maNDraatii rahtii. kabhii ka-

bhii wo bhay se kAAp uThtii aur pachtaatii +Stg

an anxious thought hovered over her. occasion-

ally she would start trembling with fear and

would regret (everything) (pcr 65)

2 mAI ne yah kahaa aur yah sun kar wo jal uThii:

"mujhe tum se koii waastaa nahII hai" +gjSbt

i told her this and on hearing it she flared

up in anger: "to hell with you"

b   kahte kahte ekaaek aTak kar ruk paRII aur bA-

dhii nigaah se mujhe dekh uThII   +Stg

in the midst of her words she suddenly stopped

talking and steadily gazed at me (kb67 424)

uR   'fly'; Vale (p 74; with cal and le)

a   dauRte ghoRO kii TaapO ke niice se dhuul cal

uRii +jbg   *St

the dust began to fly up from beneath the
hooves of the galloping horses

b 1 baaz bayaa ko apne panje mE dabaa kar le uRaa
+gjbSt

seizing the weaver bird in his talons the
hawk flew off with him

b 2 hawaa ke jhOke se aag le uRii +g   *bjSt
the fire blazed up with the gust of wind

khaR@ ho 'stand up'; Davidova 1958, Jelovkov 1963, Pray
1970; see section 3.6.1 below.

a   ek aadmii ko apnii taraf aataa huaa dekh kar
sab giidaR bhaag khaRe hue (kk2 1) +jSt
catching sight of a man coming in their direc-
tion all the jackals fled away

khap   'be expended, get used up'; Vale (p 75; with
aa, jaa and maar).

a   mohan kaary-kuSal nahII thaa par naukrii mE
aa khapaa +bjt   *S
mohan was not very competent at his job but he
was absorbed (by the company)

khaa   'eat'; Kachru 1965, Vale (p 75; with maar);
with maar, kaaT.

b   is saude mE us ne sau rupye maar khaae +bjg *St
he came out a hundred rupees ahead on this deal
(by foul means) (mhk 4.346)

<u>gir</u>   'fall'; Vale (p 76; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); with <u>jaa</u>.

   a   mAI ne apne dhanuS se tiir calaayaa tab wo ek

       miil par <u>jaa giraa</u> +gbjSt

       when i shot the arrow from my bow it carried for

       a mile

<u>giraa</u> 'knock down; drop'; Kachru 1965; excluded by Bahl

       1964; with <u>de</u>, <u>maar</u>.

   b   sAAR aa dauRaa aur sIIg maar ke diiwaal <u>de gi-</u>

       <u>raaii</u> +bj   *St

       the bull charged up and knocked the wall down

       with his horns

<u>guzar</u> 'pass by'; Vale (p 76; with <u>ho</u>, <u>kar</u>); excluded

       by Bahl 1964; with <u>ho</u>, <u>kar</u>.

   a   aaTh aaTh henrii ho guzre hAI (pcr 26) +bjSt

       there have been in all eight henries (among eng-

       lish kings)

   b   hAA, tum apnii zindagii mE bahut kuch <u>kar guzroge</u>

       +bSjt

       yes, you shall certainly do great things in your

       life

<u>gher</u> 'surround'; Vale (p 76; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); excluded

       by Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>.

   a   us ne naukar ko piiTaa to kaii kisaanO ne use

       <u>aa gheraa</u> +gbjSt

       when he beat his servant a number of peasants

came and surrounded him

<u>ghus</u> 'get in, enter'; Vale (p 76; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); exclu-
ded by Bahl 1964; with <u>jaa</u>.

  a us ne ek caaquu phEk kar maaraa to wo raam ke peT
mE jaa <u>ghusaa</u> +gbjSt

he threw a knife and it sank into ram's stomach

<u>cal</u> 'walk; go'; see section 3.1; excluded by Hacker
1958.

  a 1 padmaa ko garbh thaa. wo sthuul bhii <u>ho calii thii</u>
(pcr 63) +jtg ?S

padma was pregnant. she was also getting big

    2 wo mere piiche muft mE <u>lag calaa hai</u> +jbg *S

he's out to get me for no reason at all

  b wo apnii biiwii ko bhii maar calaa hai +gjb DtS

he's taken to beating his wife as well

<u>cuk</u> 'run out, be used up; be paid off'; see sections
3.1 and 3.2.6.

  a 1 mAI dopahr ko khaanaa khaa kar lauTaa, to dekhaa
us kaa saamaan <u>bAdh cukaa hai</u> (act 72) +Stg
on returning from lunch i saw that his bags were
already done up

    2 aajkal din jaldii <u>ho cukte hAI</u> (as) +j *Sbtg

days are coming to an end earlier now

  b 1 aur kyaa? baabuu jii aur sureS <u>khaa cuke hOge</u>
(pcr 48) +Stg

indeed! babuji and suresh must've already eaten

b 2 hAA, aap ek haath se yah moTar <u>uThaa cuke</u> +jSbtg

i'll say you'll lift this car with one hand!

<u>choR</u> 'leave behind; let go of'; see sections 3.1 and

3.6.2.

b us ne apne pati ko Saraabii <u>banaa choRaa thaa</u>

+gjbStip

she made a drunkard out of her husband

<u>jaa</u> 'go'; listed by everyone.

a 1 kaaluu ko aate hue dekh kar papii <u>cup ho gayaa</u>

(Sej 2.13) +Stg

seeing kalu coming puppy fell silent

a 2 niilgiri, madraas, mahaabalipur, maalaabaar, traa-

wankor - sab piiche chuuT jaaEge! (Sej 2.9) +Stg

N., M., M., M., T. - all would be left behind!

b hoTal mE baiTh kar sirf saath dene ke lie do pleT

biryaanii <u>khaa gayaa</u> (act 65) +Stg

sitting down with me in the restaurant "just to

keep you company", he proceeded to eat up two

plates of biryani

<u>jhapaT</u> 'pounce'; Vale (p 85; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); with <u>aa</u>, <u>le</u>.

a cuuhaa parnaale se baahar niklaa ki billii us par

<u>aa jhapTii</u> +jSbt

the cat snatched the mouse just as it came out of

the drain

  b   baaz bayaa ko <u>le jhapTaa</u> +bjg   *St

       the hawk snatched the weaver bird

<u>Tapak</u> 'drip'; see section 3.1; with <u>aa</u>, <u>pahUc</u>.

  a   aaj mujhe itnaa kaam hai aur uupar se ye mahmaan

       <u>aa Tapke</u> +ptg

       today i had so much to do as it was and on top

       of that these guests barged in on us

<u>TuuT</u>   'break'; Vale (p 86; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); with <u>aa</u>.

  a   Satru hamaarii fauj par <u>aa TuuTaa</u> +gjSbt

       the enemy fell upon our forces

<u>Thahr</u> 'stop'; Vale (p 86; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); excluded by

       Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>.

  a   mAI soctaa thaa ki tum kailiforniyaa jaaoge, ya-

       hAA kaise <u>aa Thahre</u> +gjbt   DS

       i thought you'd go to california, how is it that

       you've turned up here?

<u>DaT</u>   'stand firm"; Vale (p 86; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); exclu-

       ded by Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>.

  a 1 guru jii hamaare ghar <u>aa DaTe</u> +gjbSt

       the guru has established himself at our place

  a 2 hosTal mE juute pahne mez par <u>jaa DaTte the</u> +jStg

       in the hostel we would sit right down to table

       with our shoes on (pcr 72)

<u>Daal</u>   'throw'; listed by everyone except Vajpeyi.

28

b 1 do tiin warSO mE mAI ne saikRO hii upanyaas

<u>paRh Daale hOge</u> +jStg

in two or three years i must have read hundreds

of novels

   2 maalkin mujhe <u>maar hii Daalegii</u> (pcr 5) +Stg

the mistress would be certain to kill me

<u>Duub</u> 'sink'; Vale (p 87; with <u>jaa</u>, <u>le</u>); excluded by

Bahl 1964; with <u>le</u>.

   b aaj kii duniyaa ko koii ciz agar <u>le Duubegii</u>, to

wo yahii hai (act 22) +Stg

if anything proves the ruination of the world, it

will be this

<u>de</u> 'give'; listed by everyone, see section 3.6.4.

   a nahII jaantaa ki bambaii pahUcte hii sahsaa man

wahAA se <u>cal dene</u> ko kyO hone lagaa (act 15) +Stg

i don't know why i felt like leaving bombay as

soon as i got there

   b in ke ghar se kaii taar aa cuke the; magar mAI ne

inkaarii jawaab <u>dilwaa diye</u> (pcr 71) +Stg

a number of telegrams had already come from his

house but i had him sent negative replies

<u>dikhaa</u> 'show'; Vale; excluded by Bahl 1964.

   a 'wo ciin jaanaa caahtaa thaa aur us ne <u>jaa dikhaa-</u>

<u>yaa</u> +gj   ?St   *b

he wanted to go to china and showed everyone he

could by going

b   tum yah kahte the aur tum ne yah <u>kar dikhaayaa</u>

+gjSbt

you said you could do it and you proved it

<u>dekh</u>   'see, look'; Vale (p 90; with <u>kar</u>), Kachru 1965;

with <u>kar</u>.

b   us ne yah kaary <u>kar dekhaa thaa</u> +jbtg   *S

he had tried doing this

<u>dauR</u>   'run'; Kellogg, Vale (p 90; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>caRh</u>);

excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>caRh</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>bhiR</u>,

<u>bhaag</u>, <u>le</u>.

a   sAAR gaayO kii jhuND mE <u>bhiR dauRaa</u> +j   *bStg

the bull charged into the flock of cows

b   yah un kaa zikr aap kahAA se <u>le dauRII</u> +t *bSg

what ever possessed you to bring him up

(kb64 appendix II 25)

<u>dhamak</u> 'thump'; Kachru 1965, 1966, Vale (p 91; with <u>aa</u>,

<u>jaa</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964, Van Olphen 1970;

with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>.

a   merii cacerii bahn <u>aa dhamkii</u>, mAI kyaa kartii?

+jSbtg

what could i do? my cousin had to decide to turn

up at our place

<u>dhar</u>   'hold; put; throw'; Vale (p 91; with <u>kar</u>), Van

Olphen 1970; see section 3.6.5.

    b 1 tum ne yah kyaa <u>kar dharaa hai</u>? +jtbS Vg

       what have you gone and done here?

      2 pahlwaan ne use <u>pakaR dharaa</u> +jt   Vg   *bS

       the wrestler got a hold on him

<u>dhaa</u>   'run'; Kellogg, Vale (p 91; with <u>caRh</u>); with

       <u>caRh</u>.

    a   hamlaa karne ke liye us kii fauj <u>caRh dhaaii</u>

       +gjbt   *S

       his army rushed to attack

<u>nikal</u>   'come out; go out; turn out'; see sections 3.1

       and 3.6.6.

    a 1 daivyog usii waqt munSii riyaasat alii <u>aa nikle</u>

       (pcr 75) +Stg

       at that moment by coincidence the clerk of the

       estate riyasat ali came out

      2 sainik...magadh saamraajy kaa jay-jay-kaar kar-

       te hue aage <u>baRh nikle</u> (kb67 432) +btg   *S

       shouting the war cries of the magadhan empire

       the soldiers rushed forward

<u>nikaal</u> 'take out'; Kachru 1965, 1966; see section 3.6.7.

    b 1 ek kSaN ke baad bhuukh ne ek duusrii yuktii

       <u>soc nikaalii</u> (pcr 48) +Stg

       in an instant hunger suggested another way out

      2 us ne apne beTe ko ghar se <u>baahar kar nikaalaa</u>

       +jbt   *Sg   he threw his son out

pakaR 'catch'; Vale (p 91; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>dhar</u>); with <u>aa</u>, <u>dhar</u>.

   a pulis ne cor ko <u>aa pakRaa</u> +Sjbtg

     the police nabbed the crook

   b unhO ne use <u>dhar pakRaa</u> +gjSbt

     they caught hold of him

paTak 'dash, throw down'; Vale (p 91; with <u>de</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>jaa</u>, <u>de</u>, <u>laa</u>.

   a ek deSii baalaa ne apne haath kii sabhii puSp

     maalaaO...ko us rasik vriddh ke saamne <u>jaa paTkaa</u>

     (kb64 appendix II 25) +Stg

     a country girl took all the garlands in her hand

     and flung them down in front of the romantic old

     man

   b jhallaaii huii ghar mE aaii aur us kii taswiir

     uThaa kar zamiin par <u>de paTkii</u> aur pairO se ku-

     cal Daalii +bjtg   *S

     boiling with rage she went into the house and

     taking his picture dashed it to the floor and

     ground it under her feet

paR 'fall'; listed by everyone.

   a 1 natiijaa sunaayaa gayaa to wo <u>ro paRe</u> aur mAI

     bhii rone lagaa (pcr 28) +Stg

     when the results were announced he began to cry

     and so did i

a 2 taswiir mE itnii zindagii thii jaise wo abhii
abhii <u>bol paRegii</u> (Davidova 1958 229) +Stg
there was so much life in her portrait that it
seemed it would start speaking any minute

<u>pahUc</u> 'arrive'; Kachru 1965, 1966, McGregor 1972, Vale
(p 93; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>le</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964;
with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>.

a .yaatraa ke harS mE ham Saam ko hii sTeSan <u>jaa</u>
<u>pahUce</u> (pcr 70) +Stg
in our joyous excitement over making a journey we
arrived at the station in the evening (early)

<u>paa</u> 'find; get'; see sections 3.1 and 3.2.6.

a 1 roz mAI sau pacaas muurtiyAA bec letaa hUU par
aaj puure din mE ek bhii nahII <u>bik paaii</u> +Stg
every day i sell from fifty to a hundred images
but today not one has sold all day (act 34)

a 2 naii roSnii abhii kewal pahaaR kii coTii tak <u>pa-</u>
<u>hUc paaii thii</u> (pcr 73) +Stg
the 'new dawn' had as yet only reached the
mountain top

b 1 mere haathO mE ek pustak thii jise mAI bahut der
se khole thaa magar <u>paRh nahII paa rahaa thaa</u>
(act 11) +Stg
in my hands was a book which i had kept open for
quite some time but which i was unable to read

b 2 kyaa...kuch thoRe se hii kisaan aise hAI jo is
     star kaa jiiwan <u>bitaa paate hAI</u> (act 31) +Stg
     are there only some few peasants who are able to
     live on this level

<u>phAs</u> 'get caught, become trapped'; Vale (p 94; with
     <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>.

  a hiraN Sikaarii ke cangul mE <u>aa phAsaa</u> +bjStgp
     the stag fell into the clutches of the hunter

<u>phir</u> 'turn; wander, stroll'; Vale (p 94; with <u>cal</u>);
     with <u>cal</u>.

  a wo roz Saam ko wahAA jaataa hai aur aadhii kathaa
     sun kar <u>cal phirtaa hai</u> +gj   *Sbt
     he goes there every day in the evening and after
     listening to half the story he gets up and leaves

<u>phEk</u> 'throw'; Vale; excluded by Hacker 1958; with
     <u>ukhaaR</u>, <u>de</u>.

  b 1 sarkaar kii Saktii ke cinh...<u>ukhaaR phEkne</u>, toR
     Daalne aur bhasm kar dene ke liye bhiiR aatur ho
     gaii (kk2 10) +tgP
     the crowd had become eager to rip out, throw down
     and smash the symbols of the government's power
     and burn them to ashes

   2 us ne apne gale se do laR kii maalaa toR jhiil mE
     <u>de phEkii</u> +jbp   *Stg

ripping the double stranded necklace from her

throat she threw it into the lake

ban 'be made, be done'; Vale (p 95; with <u>aa</u>, <u>caRh</u>);

   excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>, <u>caRh</u>.

 a 1 apnaa kaam nahII kiyaa is liye us par <u>aa banii</u>

   +bStg

   he did not do his work; that's why he got into

   trouble

  2 mantrii ho jaane par to ab un kii aur bhii

   <u>caRh banii hai</u> +bt Og *S

   he's really on top of the world now that he's

   become a minister

bas 'settle down; inhabit'; Vale (p 95; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>,

   <u>cal</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>jaa</u>, <u>cal</u>.

 a 1 ham log usii gaDDhe mE <u>jaa base</u> (kb64 appendix

   II 25) +btgp

   we went and settled in that hole

  2 pichle saal hamaare daadaa <u>cal base the</u> +Stg

   last year our grandfather passed away

<u>baahar kar</u> 'put out, turn out'; Jelovkov 1963; with <u>ni-</u>

   <u>kaal</u>, <u>bhagaa</u>, <u>haTaa</u>.

 b us ne apne beTe ko ghar se <u>nikaal baahar kiyaa</u>

   +bStgp

   he turned his son out of the house

<u>biit</u> 'pass, go by, elapse'; classed as vector by mhk,

vol IV; with <u>le</u>.

b   un kii yah caalaakii hii unhE <u>le biitegii</u>

(mhk 4.593) +Sbt   *g

this bit of cleverness will be his undoing

<u>baiTh</u>   'sit down'; listed by everyone.

a 1 aap apne jawaab se xud Daakuu <u>ban baiThe</u> +Sbtg

by your answer you have yourself become a ban-

dit (kb64 429)

2 Taamii baar baar uchal kar us kii god mE <u>aa</u>

<u>baiThne</u> kii asaphal ceSTaa kartaa (pcr 44) +Stg

leaping up again and again tommy made unsuc-

cessful attempts to sit in his lap

b 1 mAI Dar rahaa thaa ki kahII tum Gusse mE aa kar

<u>maar na baiTho</u> (pcr 16) +Stg

i was afraid you might get angry and hit him

2 yah chajjaa saaraa makaan <u>le baiThegaa</u> +Sbt   Dg

this balcony will collapse and pull the whole

house down with it (mhk 4.593)

(this balcony will take up the whole house: +g)

<u>bhaag</u>   'run, flee'; Vale (p 96; with <u>nikal</u>, <u>le</u>); exclu-

ded by Bahl 1964 and Hacker 1958.

a   haath baahar nikaal liyaa aur usii waqt ek kaa-

laa sAAp parnaale se <u>nikal bhaagaa</u> +bStg

he took his hand out just as a black snake shot

out of the drain

b   ghoRaa <u>dhar bhaagaa</u> (Van Olphen 1970 171) +ptg

    the horse ran off (when he got his chance: +t)

<u>bhiR</u> 'collide; attack'; Vale (p 96; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>cal</u>,

    <u>dauR</u>); with <u>aa</u>, <u>cal</u>.

a   tumhE kuch kaam nahII thaa jo mujh se <u>aa bhiRe</u>

    +gSbt

    you had nothing better to do than come here and

    pick a fight

<u>bhej</u> 'send'; Vale (p 96; with <u>kahlaa</u>, <u>bulaa</u>, <u>mAgaa</u> and

    <u>likh</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>kahlaa</u>, <u>bulaa</u>,

    <u>mAgaa</u> and <u>likh</u>.

b 1 apnii kuSal <u>likh bhejnaa</u> +Stg

    write to let us know how you are

  2 us ne duukaan se apnaa suuT <u>mAgaa bhejaa thaa</u> +bSg

    he sent to the store for his suit

<u>mAgaa</u> 'order'; Kachru 1965; with <u>bhej</u>.

    us ne duukaan se apnaa suuT <u>bhej mAgaayaa thaa</u> +b

    *Stg   he sent to the store for his suit

<u>mar</u>   'die';see sections 3.1 and 3.6.8.

a 1 aise samay na jaane kahAA se wo <u>aa maraa</u> +bStg

    god knows why he had to pick a time like that to

    show up (Vajpeyi 490)

  2 apne haq ke liye wahII <u>laR marnaa</u> caahiye thaa

    +Stg   they should have struggled to the utmost

    for their rights right there

3 buuRhii gaay <u>cal marii</u> +t   *bSg

the old cow died

b 1 tum apnaa yah gandaa kaam yahAA kyO <u>kar mare</u> +bt

Og   *S

why the hell did you have to do your dirty work

here

2 wo apnii harkatO se use <u>le maraa</u> +btg   *S

she has had to suffer the consequences of his

wicked acts as well as he

<u>maar</u>   'strike'; see sections 3.1 and 3.6.9.

b 1 mAI ne baahar aa kar saaraa kamraa <u>chaan maaraa</u>

(pcr 86) +Stg   coming out i went through the

whole room with a fine-toothed comb

2 puure zor se khAIc kar baap ke sir par kulhaaRii

<u>de maarii</u> (rlup 35) +Stgp

drawing back· he brought the ax down with all his

strength upon his father's head

3 aaj to tum ne naukar ko din bhar <u>dauRaa maaraa</u>

(mhk 4.346) +bStg

you've been running your servant ragged all day

<u>miT</u>   'be obliterated'; Vale (p 97; with <u>mar</u>); excluded

by Bahl 1964; with <u>mar</u>, <u>jal</u>.

a   kaam karte karte ham <u>mar miTe</u> par natiijaa kuch

na huaa +bStg   we killed ourselves working on it

with nothing to show for our efforts

<u>mil</u>   'meet; be available'; Sharma 1958, Vale (p 97;

with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>,

<u>jaa</u>, and <u>likh</u>(?)

   a   wo Satru se <u>jaa milaa</u> (kb64 319) +bStg

     he went over to the enemy

   b   mujhe patr <u>nahII likh milegaa</u> (Sharma 1958 90) *tgp

     i shall not be able to write the letter

<u>rakh</u>   'put, place'; see sections 3.1 and 3.6.10.

   a 1 aaj subah us kii gaaRii mE kuch gaRbaR <u>ho rakhii</u>

     <u>hai</u> +b   PJg   *t

     something has gone wrong with his car this morning

    2 foTo mE dekho merii AAkhE kaisii <u>aa rakhII</u> +b *pg

     look how my eyes have come out in the photo

   b   tum ne...apnii murGiyAA <u>paal rakhii hAI</u> aur kut-

     taa <u>rakh rakhaa hai</u> (act 31) +tgp

<u>rakh de</u> 'put, place'; Van Olphen 1970; see section 3.6.11.

   b   prasaad ne paristhiti ko itne spaST belaag SabdO

     mE <u>khol kar rakh diyaa thaa</u> ki kuch kahne kii

     jagah na miltii thii (pcr 60) +tgp

     prasad had presented the situation in such a

     clear and candid manner that there was nothing

     to be said

<u>rah</u>   'stay, remain'; see sections 3.1 and 3.6.12.

   a 1 aur yah kahte hue motii...apne bandhuu ke paas

     aa kar <u>so rahaa</u> (pcr 13) +gp   Ot

and saying this moti...coming near to his friend
went to sleep

a 2 paisO kii cintaa na karo, phir <u>mil rahEge</u>
   (kb67 234) +v   PJg   *t
   don't worry about money, we'll share expenses

<u>lag</u>   'touch; stick'; Vale (p 101; with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>cuum</u>,
      <u>lag</u>); excluded by Bahl 1964; with <u>aa</u>.

   a   jahaaz kinaare par <u>aa lagaa hai</u> +bSptg
       the ship has touched shore

<u>laa</u>   'bring'; Vale (p 102); excluded by Hacker 1958.

   b 1 wo apnii AAkhO mE AAsuu <u>bhar laayaa</u> +btg
       he brought tears to his eyes (on purpose)

     2 hamE saamne aate hue dekhte hue bhii ghoRaa ha-
       maare uupar <u>caRhaa laayaa</u> +batgp
       even though he could see us coming he brought
       his horse right on top of us

<u>lipaT</u>   'cling'; Vale (p 102, with <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>); with <u>aa</u>.

   a   mujh se milii   aur gale se <u>aa lipTii</u> +gbStp
       she met me and rushed into my arms

<u>le</u>   'take'; listed by everyone.

   a 1 aaj Saam daawat par jaanaa hai is liye dopahr mE
       kuch der tak mAI ne <u>so liyaa hai</u> +vg   PJtp
       (acceptable as:...mAI <u>so liyaa hUU</u> +tp   *g)
       we have to go to a party this evening so for this
       reason i slept for awhile this afternoon

a 2 Dii pii se mil kar mujhe lagaa ki mAI ne bam-
baii ke sab logO se ek saath <u>mil liyaa hai</u> +g PJtp
after meeting d. p. i felt as if i had met every-
one in bombay at once (act 16)

3 jab mAI khaanaa khaane niklaa to wo bhii ghuumne
ke iraade se saath <u>ho liyaa</u> (act 65) +tgp
when i went out to eat he tagged along with the
intention of taking a stroll

4 hamaarii fauj ne duSman kii fauj ko <u>jaa liyaa</u>
(cu 2.236)   ?p   *tg
our forces overtook those of the enemy

b 1 us ne piknik kaa saamaan taiyaar <u>kar liyaa thaa</u>
(act 36)   +tg
he had gotten the things for a picnic ready

2 Saardaa ne jhaTak kar apne haath <u>chuRaa liye</u> +tgp
sharda jerked her hands free (Sej 1.239)

3 to sone se pahle mujhe <u>aawaaz de liijiegaa</u> +tp *g
then do give me a call before you retire (act 66)

<u>le aa</u> 'bring'; classed as a vector by Bahl 1964. The
examples he gives, however, all have verb sequen-
ces in which not <u>le aa</u> but <u>laa</u> is the second ele-
ment: appendix I, pp 7-8, sentences 140-8.

<u>le jaa</u> 'take, take away'; Bahl 1964; see section 3.6.13.

b   wo apne rol ko acchii tarah <u>sAbhaal le gaii</u> +ptg
she carried off her role well

<u>sak</u>   'can, be able'; see sections 3.1 and 3.2.6.

    a   yah gubbaaraa pAAc hazaar fuuT tak <u>uR saktaa</u>

        <u>hai</u> +tgp

        this balloon can ascend up to five thousand feet

    b   mAI subah se <u>na</u> kapRe <u>badal sakaa hUU</u> aur na

        khaanaa khaa paayaa hUU (act 34) +tgp

        i have neither been able to change my clothes nor

        have anything to eat since morning

<u>sunaa</u>   'tell, relate'; Vale (p 105; with <u>kah</u>); excluded

        by Bahl 1964 and Hacker 1958; with <u>kah</u>.

    b   yah kissaa sab logO ko <u>kah sunaayaa gayaa thaa</u>

        +btg this story was related to everyone

    As must be evident from this list R. N. Vale pro-
poses membership in the class of vectors for more items
than anyone else: in all some fifty-one[1] items out of
which twenty-eight are items mentioned by no other wri-
ter on the subject. This is only partly the result of
greater diligence on Vale's part. Vale, who is concerned
with all types of 'verbal composition', sub-classifies
his 'auxiliaries' according to a rather complex scheme
which he nowhere attempts to explain or justify. As a

1/ This does not include a further eight items which
Vale lists but for which we were unable to find or e-
licit any examples: (mar) <u>jii</u>, (jal) <u>pak</u>, (mar) <u>pac</u>,
(as well as (pac) <u>mar</u>), <u>roe piiT</u>, (ghus) <u>paiTh</u>, (haT)
<u>baRh</u>, (jal) <u>bujh</u> and (pac) <u>haar</u>. Vale lists each of
these as occurring with only one main verb (the items
in parentheses). They appear all to be idiomatic vec-
tor sequences: see below, section 3.5.

result a great many items with many varied functions
find a place in his list under such categories as 'In-
tensive', 'Adverbative', 'Completive', 'Intensive Adver-
bative', 'Completive Adverbative', 'Intensive Syntac-
tive', 'Intensive Completive', 'Syntactive Adverbative'
and so on. Unfortunately none of these categories seems
to correspond with the various classes of syntactically
derived (as opposed to 'basic' or kernel) verb sequences
that are distinguishable by means of the transformation-
al relations discussed below[2]. When one considers Vale
also includes sequences like aa rahaa hai 'is coming',
aataa rahtaa hai 'keeps coming' and aane lagtaa hai 'be-
gins coming' it is clear he is only cataloguing.

 Although all sixty-three items on the list in the
preceding section are able to participate in verbal se-
quences which may be seen as having congruent structures[3],
it is obvious, if only from the extreme disagreement
among writers concerning their status, that they are not
all to be considered vector verbs. While it is possible
that the category 'vector verb' (or its equivalents) as set

2/ Sections 3.2.1 through 3.2.5. For a discussion and
 criticism of Vale's terminology see V. Pořízka, 'Notes
 on R. N. Vale's theory of verbal composition in Hindi,
 Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi', Archiv Orientalni, 22:
 114, 1954.

3/ With the exception of rakh de-sequences. See discus-
 sion below, section 3.2.1, sentence set aq.

up by grammarians of Hindi is in every case completely
arbitrary and ad hoc; it is to be noted that there are
some six items which everyone groups together (eight if
we ignore Pahwa and Vajpeyi): aa, uTh, jaa, Daal, de,
paR, baiTh and le. This suggests that there may exist
semantic and syntactic criteria that will enable us to
set up a well-defined class of vector verbs and vector
sequences.

3.2 Homotactic sequences

In language we often find individual morphemes Homomorph
to which a variety of functions accrue. The homomorphism
of the plural marker and the genitive marker in English
nouns and the third person singular of the unmarked
present in English verbs is well-known. Similarly homo-
taxy, the convergence of a variety of syntactic proces-
ses in a single arrangement of form-classes, is widely
observed. Perhaps the most famous example in recent lin-
guistics is the homotaxy noticed by Chomsky of:

a   john is eager to please

b   john is easy to please

which are both analyzable as sequences of noun + copula
+ predicate adjective + infinitive. Yet john in sentence
a functions as an agent and in sentence b as an object.

The presence of homotactic verb-verb sequences in Hindi is largely responsible for the confusion and disagreement in the determination of the category 'vector verb'. In the following six sub-sections we shall briefly examine these homotaxies in order to bring greater clarity to the concept we wish to establish of 'compound verb'.

3.2.1 Homotactic sequences: conjoined main verbs

Bahl 1964 has formulated two transformations which account for a great number of the items in the list in section 3.1.1. Adopting his formulations, we shall call the first of them 'Rule 17' or '<u>kar</u>-Deletion' and the second, 'Rule 18' or 'Reversal'[1]. Rule 17 relates sentences such as a1 and b1 to a2 and b2, respectively:

a 1   mAI phir lauT kar apne palang par <u>aa kar leT</u>
       <u>gayaa</u> +giptb

       returning i lay down on my bed

  2   mAI phir lauT kar apne palang par <u>aa leTaa</u> =giptb

b 1   bhaaluu peRO par caRh kar Sahd <u>toR kar khaa le-</u>
       <u>taa hai</u> +jptgb

       the bear climbs trees and ripping open (the hives)

<u>1/</u> Rule 17 is Bahl's PSTop17 "Deletion of Explicators": pp 317-8. Rule 18 is his PSTop18 "Reordering of v_{in} -(<u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>nikal</u>)-Strings": pp 319-20.

eats the honey (kb64 15)

2   bhaaluu peRO par caRh kar Sahd toR khaataa hai
     =jptgb

Although he does not say so in so many words Bahl's inten-
tion would seem to be that al and bl are in turn relatable
to a0 and b0 by his rule of 'Non-Finite Conjunction':[2]

a 0   mAI phir lauT kar aayaa aur apne palang par leT
       gayaa =giptb

       i returned and lay down on my bed

b 0   bhaaluu peRO par caRh kar Sahd toRtaa hai aur
       khaa letaa hai =jptgb

       climbing trees the bear rips out the honey (from
       the hives) and eats it

The conclusion that each of the two verb forms in strings
such as aa leTaa and toR khaataa hai derives from the verb
phrase of what on a more remote level of derivation are
separate sentences and that as such neither one of the
forms is to be considered a vector verb is I think ines-
capable. In spite of Bahl's statement to the contrary,[3]

2/ 'Rule GT 4', pp 281-9. The second equivalence does
   not necessarily follow from the first. There are sen-
   tences x1 equivalent to x2 but not to x0. See 3.4.2,
   sentence set a, and sections 3.6.3 and 3.6.11.

3/ 'The MSH (modern standard Hindi) grammars have very
   little to say about verb strings of this type except
   the works of Sharma, Miss Keskar (now Yamuna Kachru -
   PH) and Hacker.' Bahl 1964, p 15.

this is the single observation most frequently made by grammarians on the distinction to be drawn between vector sequences and formally identical concatenations of main verbs.[4]

However, according to informants many occurrences of sequences of the type in a2 are semantically diver-

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[4] The following among those whose work we have been able to examine have made a discrimination of true vector sequences from formally identical strings derivable from conjoined sentences of type a0: Bailey, p 73, p 77; Barannikov and Barannikov 1956, p 128, p 133; Davidova, p 225; Guru, p 318; Hacker 1958, p 78 footnote; Hacker 1961, p 503; Jelovkov, p 92; Kachru 1965, p 43; Kellogg, p 261-3; Masica (mimeo), p 20; Pořízka 1968, p 249; Pray 1970, pp 144-146; Vajpeyi, p 478; Van Olphen, p 154. Of all of these Vajpeyi has made the distinction in the most amusing way, drawing a parallel between conjoined main verbs and the co-equal relations of Russia and China; whereas the relation between the elements in a true vector sequence is like the one-time colonial relation of England to India. The grammarians not making the distinction are in the minority: Harley, Rocher, Scholberg, Dymšic. Vale's discussion of the Prakrit sequence weDhiuuna mukkaa on p 267 implies such a discrimination. Dwarikesh denies the existence of conjunctive sequences of type a2: "The occurrence of K (=kar, ke, kar ke - PH) is obligatory when a CPP (=conjunctive participial phrase - PH) is immediately followed by...a simple verb." p 113. By "simple verb" Dwarikesh (personal communication) means any tense form that does not require the paraphrastic element h- (hai, thaa, hoqaa, etc.). That the application of kar-Deletion should depend on such an arbitrary formal feature of tense appears most unlikely. In any event Dwarikesh denies the bisemy of sequences like wo khaa qayaa: I. 'he ate and went' and, II. 'he ate up (something)': pp 268-9, but evidently accepts it for wo khaa qayaa hai, wo khaa jaataa hai, etc.

(handwritten margin note top: iconicity / linguistic distance relates to psychological distance)

gent from those corresponding of type a1 with <u>kar</u> unde-
leted. The former often connote a suddenness, hurried-
ness or unexpectedness in the action that the latter do
not. Simple suddenness or unexpectedness is exemplified
in c2:

(handwritten margin: आरंटर without `kar`; ➝ with `kar` आरंटर लेर)

c 2   hamaarii fauj Satru par <u>jaa TuuTii</u> +gbSt ?i Wpa

           our army fell upon the enemy

This suddenness is not connoted by the corresponding sen-
tence as this is defined by the rule of <u>kar</u>-Deletion (or
its inverse, the rule of <u>kar</u>-Insertion, see section 3.4.2
below):

c 1   hamaarii fauj Satru par <u>jaa kar TuuT paRii</u>

           +giSpat   *b

           There are some speakers for whom the potential
incongruity of the extra connotation of suddenness in
sentences like c2 will block or at least render the ap-
plication of <u>kar</u>-Deletion less acceptable (this becomes
progressively more apparent in sentence sets d, e and f):

d   us ne raam par caakuu phEk kar maaraa to wo us

   1   ke peT mE <u>jaa kar ghus gayaa</u>   Wipt ?g *b

   2   <u>jaa ghusaa</u>   +gibpt

        he threw the knife and it sank into ram's stomach

e   jab se us kii Saadii ho gaii hai tab se wo Saam ko

   1   ghar mE <u>jaa kar ghus jaataa hai</u> +gi   Wbpt

   2   <u>jaa ghustaa hai</u>   +bpt   Wgi

ever since he got married you can't pry him out

of his house in the evenings

f   us ne xuub mahnat kii thii aur bahut hii thakaa

huaa ghar pahUc kar aahiste se apne palang par

1   jaa kar leT gayaa +jibptg

2   jaa leTaa   +g   Wibp   *jt

he had worked very hard and arriving home very

tired he went and slowly lay down on his bed

Replacing the <u>aahiste se</u> 'slowly' of f with an adverbial

phrase like <u>dham se</u> 'with a flop' which connotes sudden-

ness reverses the preferences of many speakers:

g   us ne xuub mahnat kii thii aur bahut hii thakaa

huaa ghar pahUc kar dham se apne palang par

1   jaa kar leT gayaa Wptgb

2   jaa leTaa   +ptgb

...he went and flopped down on his bed

Although there are constraints on the application

of <u>kar</u>-Deletion which deserve further investigation,[5]

they have no direct bearing on the question of defining

---

[5] For instance, why should it be the case that so many
conjunct sequences contain a verb of motion as either
the anterior or posterior member? (See section 3.2.3.
fn 1 for an explanation of why verbs of motion occur
as posterior members.) Both Pray (mimeo), p 5, and
Dwarikesh 1971, pp 65-87, attempt to classify conjunct
sequences in terms of the types of verbs that may ap-
pear in either the anterior or posterior slot. An ac-
count of the syntactic and semantic bases for such co-
occurrence restrictions has as yet not been attempted.
Pray (mimeo) also gives a semantic differentiation of
sequences of type cdefg1 as opposed to cdefg2: pp 3-4.

the set of vector verbs. The rule of <u>kar</u>-Deletion as it
stands however allows us to account for a substantial
number of the items in the list of section 3.1.1 as in
actuality main verbs permuted into the vector position
by transformation. These we list below accompanying
them with pairs of utterances with <u>kar</u> deleted and un-
deleted. It should be borne in mind that the use of the
symbol '=' does not rule out the presence of the conno-
tational difference discussed in the preceding paragraph.

<u>uR</u>   baaz bayaa ko apne panje mE dabaa kar

  1 2   <u>le uRaa</u> +Sptgb   <u>le kar uR gayaa</u> =pSt Dg[6] *b

       seizing the weaver bird in his talons the hawk

       flew off with him

<u>khap</u>   mohan kaary-kuSal nahII thaa parantu naukrii mE

  1 2   <u>aa khapaa</u> +bg Wp   <u>aa kar khap gayaa</u> =bg p

       mohan was not very competent at his job but he/

       got by//was absorbed by the company anyway/

<u>gir</u>   mAI ne apne dhanuS se tiir calaayaa tab wo ek miil

  1   par <u>jaa giraa</u> +gptb

  2   <u>jaa kar gir gayaa</u> =gptb   Wptb

       i shot an arrow from my bow and it did not come

       down for a mile

6/ g finds that <u>uR-1</u> could be used while the hawk is
   still in sight while <u>uR</u>-2 implies that he has flown
   away.

guzar   aaTh aaTh henrii ho guzre hAI +gptb

2   ho kar guzar gae hAI =gptb Wtb

      8 henries have come and gone (in english history)

gher   zamiindaar ne naukrO ko piiTaa to kaii kisaanO ne

1   us ko aa gheraa +gptb

2   aa kar gher liyaa =gptb

      when he beat his servants a lot of peasants came

      and surrounded the land-owner

ghus   see sentence sets d and e above

jhapaT bayaa apne jhOjh mE jaa rahaa thaa to itne mE baaz

1   us par aa jhapTaa +gptb

2   aa kar jhapaT paRaa =gptb   Wtb

      the weaver bird was just entering his nest when

      the hawk came and pounced on him

Tapak aaj mujhe itnaa kaam hai aur uupar se ye log

1 2 aa Tapke +ptg   aa kar Tapak gae =ptg   Wpg   *b

      i had so much to do today as it was and on top

      of that these folks had to barge in on us

TuuT   see sentence set c above

Thahr mAI soctaa thaa ki tum kaaSmiir jaaoge lekin yahAA

1   phir aa Thahre +Sptgb

2   aa kar Thahr gae =Stgb Dpb[7]

      i thought you'd go to kashmir but here you are

      back in town already

7/ pb find Thahr-1 slightly more pejorative than Thahr-2.

DaT bahn hamaare ghar aa DaTii +Sptgb

  2   aa kar DaT gaii =Sptg   Wt   Db

    sister has established herself at our place

Duub aaj kii duniyaa ko koii ciiz agar le Duubegii +ptgb

  2   le kar Duubegii =ptb   Wpb   *g

  3   le kar Duub jaaegii *pgb ?t to wo yahii hai[8]

    if anything proves the ruination of today's world

    it will be this

dikhaa dekho mAI yah sab kaam kar dikhaaUUgaa +Spgb   Wt

  2   kar ke dikhaa dUUgaa =Sptgb   Wb

    just wait, i'll show you i can do it

dekh us ne yah kaam kar dekhaa thaa +bg Wpt *S

  2   kar ke dekh liyaa thaa =bpt Dg[9]

    he had already tried doing this

dhamak ham kyaa karte? paise paate hii pulis

  1 2 aa dhamkii +ptgb   aa kar dhamak gaii =pt Wp *gb[10]

    what could we do? as soon as we found the money

    the police showed up

dhar pahlwaan ne use pakaR dharaa +ptb   Og

  2   pakaR kar dhar diyaa =pg Wp Db *t

    the wrestler got a hold on him

8/ As informants' reactions show le Duub as sequence of
   main verbs conjoined is a borderline case. This se-
   quence and others like it are discussed further in
   section 3.5.

9/ g finds dekh-1 proper as a question and dekh-2, as a
   statement.

10/ But: aa kar dhamak paRii +g   *b

<u>nikaal</u> ek kSaN ke baad raam ne ek aur yuktii

  1 2 <u>soc nikaalii</u> +ptgb <u>soc ke nikaal lii</u> =ptgb Wtgpb

      in an instant ram thought of another way out

<u>pakaR</u> pulis ne corO ko <u>aa pakRaa</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>aa kar pakaR liyaa</u> =ptgb

      the police nabbed the crooks

<u>paTak</u> ek deSii baalaa ne apne haath kii sabhii puSp

      maalaaO ko us rasik vriddh ke saamne

  1 2 <u>jaa paTkaa</u> +ptgb   <u>jaa ke paTak diyaa</u> =ptgb Wb

      a country girl went and threw all the garlands in

      her hand down in front of the romantic old man

<u>phAs</u> hiraN Sikaarii ke cangul mE <u>aa phAsaa</u> +ptgb

  2 <u>aa kar phAs gayaa</u> =ptgb Wptb

      the stag fell into the clutches of the hunter

<u>phEk</u> haathii ne peR <u>ukhaaR phEkaa</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>ukhaaR kar phEk diyaa</u> =pt Dgb[11]

      the elephant tore up (and threw down) the tree

<u>bas</u> ham log usii guphaa mE <u>jaa base</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>jaa kar bas gae</u> =ptgb

      we all went and settled down in that cave

<u>baiTh</u> Taamii baar baar uchal kar us kii god mE

  1 2 <u>aa baiThne</u> +ptgb <u>aa kar baiTh jaane</u> =ptgb Wgb

      kii asaphal ceSTaa kartaa thaa

      jumping up again and again tommy made unsuccess-

11/ g finds greater emphasis on the act of throwing the
    tree down in <u>phEk</u>-2. b finds <u>phEk</u>-1 expresses anger.

ful attempts to get into his lap

bhiR   mujh se aadmii ekdam <u>aa bhiRaa</u> +bSptg

 2   <u>aa kar bhiR gayaa</u> =bSptg

the man came and suddenly attacked me

bhej   apnii kuSal <u>likh bhejnaa</u> +ptgb   Wt

 2   <u>likh kar bhej denaa</u> =ptgb   Wb

write to let us know how you are

mAgaa   us ne duukaan se apnaa suuT <u>bhej mAgaayaa thaa</u>

 2   +pab Wb Og *t <u>bhej kar mAgaa liyaa thaa</u> =pagb Bt

he sent to the store for his suit

maar   aaj to tum ne naukar ko din bhar
                                                    Wb
 1 2   <u>dauRaa maaraa</u> +ptgb Wt <u>dauRaa kar maar diyaa</u> =ptb

you've been running your servant ragged all day[12]

mil   see sentence set h, section 3.2.2.

lag   jahaaz kinaare par <u>aa lagaa hai</u> +bSptg

 2   <u>aa ke lag gayaa hai</u> =bSptg Wg

the ship has touched shore

laa   wo bhaaii ko duukaan se nae kapRe

 1   <u>liwaa laayaa</u> +bp *tjg <u>liwaa kar le aayaa</u> =p *bt
                                                              *jg
        he took his brother to the store and bought him

        new clothes (and brought them back)

lipaT   mujh se milii aur gale se <u>aa lipTii</u> +bSptg

 2   aur <u>aa kar</u> gale se <u>lipaT gaii</u> =bSptg

        she met me and rushed into my arms[13]

12/ For g <u>maar</u>-2 must have <u>dauRaa kar maar Daalaa</u> +g =g

13/ It will be noticed that the order of the anterior

Of course, many items that are considered able to occur as vector verbs by almost everyone may also occur in vector position by virtue of <u>kar</u>-Deletion:[14]

h 1   us ne mujhe ek tanduurii cikan <u>xariid dii</u> +bSptg

  2   <u>xariid kar de dii</u> =bSptg

       she bought an order of tandoori chicken and gave

       it to me

However, it is obvious that not every instance of <u>de</u> as the second member of a verb-verb sequence can be equated with some corresponding conjunctive sequence:

i 1   us ne bhikhaarii ko do paise <u>de diye</u> +bSptg

  2   <u>de kar de die</u> *bSptg

       he gave the beggar two paisa

Thus the inverse of the rule of <u>kar</u>-Deletion may be used as a test for membership in the class of vector verbs. However, as we shall see in section 3.4.2, it is not by itself a sufficient *test* to establish membership.

---

verb relative to other constituents in sentences like this one may change quite dramatically on the deletion of <u>kar</u>. Although beyond the scope of the present study, research into what rearrangements of sentence elements are required in <u>kar</u>-deletion and what are permitted and what are blocked would make a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Hindi syntax. For discussion of another type of change associated with <u>kar</u>-Deletion, see section 3.2.3, sentence sets e, f.

14/ In this regard note the conjunct sequences above in which <u>dhar</u>, <u>nikaal</u>, <u>baiTh</u>, <u>maar</u>, and <u>laa</u> figure as the second main verbs. All of these items are (on the basis of different sentences than the ones given here of course) members of the set of vector verbs as we finally define it.

Marathi does not allow this.

3.2.2 Homotactic sequences: reversal of main
and vector verb

The formal congruence of sequences of conjoined
main verbs with compound verbs has been the major source
of confusion concerning the determination of the class
of vector verbs. A second source of such confusion comes
from within the set of compound verbs itself. Certain
sequences of main verb and vector may be reordered in
such a way that the vector appears as stem and the main
verb occurs with the desinence:

a 1   lakSmaN ne SuurpaNkhaa ko <u>bhagaa diyaa</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>de bhagaayaa</u> +pb Og   *t

      laxman drove off shurpankha

It is the unusual order of main and vector verb which
has probably led Vale and Kachru to consider verbs like
<u>paTak</u>, <u>phEk</u> and <u>giraa</u> as vectors:

b   bail aa dauRaa aur sIIg maar ke diiwaal

      <u>de giraaii</u> +pb   Otg

      the bull came charging up and knocked the wall

      down with his horns

c   us ne Gusse mE aa kar foTo jhiil mE <u>de phEkii</u>

      +pb   Og   *t

      in a fit of rage he threw the snap into the lake

d   kitaab zamiin par <u>de paTkii</u> +ptb OKg

she dashed the book to the floor

Similarly to that of <u>kar</u>-Deletion, the result
of the reordering or reversal of main and vector verb
often implies a suddenness not found in the unreordered
sequence:

e 1   us ne jhaTke se lagaam <u>khIIc dii</u> +ptgb   Wb

  2   <u>de khIIcii</u> +pb Btg

he jerked on the reins

  3   us ne aahiste se lagaam <u>khIIc dii</u> +ptgb

  4   <u>de khIIcii</u> *ptgb

he slowly pulled back on the reins

Depending on the generalization that negated com-
pound verbs rarely occur and that in the places one[1]
might expect them one finds simply the main verb negated,
one can easily identify the main verb in either reor-
dered or unreordered sequences:

a 3   lakSmaN ne SuurpaNkhaa ko <u>nahII bhagaayaa</u> +ptgb

  4   <u>nahII diyaa</u> *ptgb

laxman did not drive off shurpankha

The negative test is useful in determining reordered

1/ Such as in a negative answer to a question construc-
   ted with a compound verb:
   a   kyaa us ne sabhii khaanaa <u>khaa liyaa</u>? +ptgb
       did he eat up everything?
   b 1 nahII, sab to <u>nahII khaayaa</u> +ptgb
     2   <u>nahII khaa liyaa</u> *ptb   Wg
     no, not everything
   For further discussion of the effects of negative en-
   vironments on the simple:compound verb see sections
   3.3.2 and 4.3.2.1.

versus unreordered members in a pair of equivalents. For example, it may not be obvious which is the unreordered sequence in the pair:

f 1   hawaa ke ek jhOke ke saath patang <u>cal uRii</u> +gptb
         Wb

  2   <u>uR calii</u> =gptb

         the kite flew up with a gust of wind

By applying the negative test:

f   hawaa ke us jhOke ke saath patang

  3 4   <u>nahII calii</u> *gb Dp Wt   <u>nahII uRii</u> +gptb

         the kite did not fly up with that gust of wind

we can deduce from the relative unacceptability of f3 that the main verb in both f1 and f2 is <u>uR</u> 'fly'; and the vector, <u>cal</u>. Hence, f2 is unreordered.

         Further examples:

b   bail aa dauRaa aur sIIg maar kar diiwaal

  1 2   <u>de giraaii</u> +pb Otg   <u>giraa dii</u> =ptgb

         the bull came charging up and knocked the wall down with his horns

         bail ne sIIg maar kar bhii diiwaal

  3 4   <u>nahII giraaii</u> +ptgb   <u>nahII dii</u> *ptgb

         even though he struck it with his horns the bull did not topple the wall

g   us ne Gusse mE aa kar kitaab zamiin par

  1 2   <u>de paTkii</u> +ptb Wg   <u>paTak dii</u> =ptgb

         in a fit of rage he dashed the book to the floor

g   Gusse mE aa kar bhii us ne kitaab zamiin par

  3 4 <u>nahII paTkii</u> +ptgb   <u>nahII dii</u> *ptgb

      even though he got angry he did not throw the

      book on the floor

<u>phEk</u> may be substituted for <u>paTak</u> in sentence group g

with similar results.

The phenomenon of reversal of main and vector

verb in Hindi compound verbs has not passed without no-

tice.[2] As mentioned in the preceding sub-section, Bahl

1964 provides a transformation called 'Reordering'[3] to

relate such reversed compound verbs to their unreversed

counterparts. However, it turns out that his transfor-

mation as framed accounts only for main verbs that have

been permuted to the right of a very small class of in-

transitive verbs which we have some reason to consider

as members of a class of items intermediate in their

2/ The existence of reversed vector sequences is noted
by the following writers: Guru, p 319; Davidova 1958,
p 224, fn 9; Dymšic 1966, p 262; Kalra, p 152; Po-
řízka 1969, pp 19-20; Van Olphen 1970, pp 171-2.
Vale mentions examples of reversed vector sequences:
under item 172, p 91; under item 180, p 95; under item
192, p 97; under item 195, p 98. However, he makes
no statement about reversal as a grammatical pheno-
menon. Bahl 1967 promises a discussion of 'reversed
verb sequences' at two different points: p 328, p
435. But he nowhere delivers. No writer attempts a
discussion of the conditions under which sequences
are reversed.

3/ 'PSTop18' or 'Reordering of v_{in} -(<u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>, <u>nikal</u>)-
strings', pp 319-20.

properties to main verbs on the one hand and vectors on the other[4]: aa, jaa, nikal. One of his fully worked out examples:

h 1   wo Satru se mil gayaa +ptgb

  2   jaa milaa +ptgb   ≠ptgb

h 1 2 he went over to the enemy

According to Bahl both these sentences may have the same meaning. Informants, however, do not agree: the second one always implies a preceding movement on the part of the agent which the first does not. Thus, the correct analysis of h2 is as a sequence of conjoined main verbs derived through the application of kar-Deletion:

h 2   wo Satru se jaa milaa +ptgb

  3   jaa kar mil gayaa =ptgb

       he went and joined the enemy

The non-equivalence of h1 and h2 becomes more apparent in a distinguishing context such as the following:

i 1   Satru kaa jaasuus ham se yahAA mil gayaa +gpb

  2   jaa milaa *gpb

       the enemy agent went over to us here

Here the presence of yahAA 'here' renders the use of jaa strange in i2 where it retains its function as a main verb.

4/ For further discussion of this intermediate class
   see section 3.2.5 below.

Very little is known about reversed compound verbs: which vectors participate in reordered sequences? what conditions of meaning or situation govern their occurrence? how do they relate to the dialect map of Hindi-speaking India? The subject deserves much more attention than we can give it here. We must content ourselves with a few remarks and some examples of extremely colloquial reverse compound verbs which to our knowledge have never been reported on.

Reordered sequences have been observed containing the vectors cal, uTh, de, dhar, and maar:

```
cal   1 dopahr biit calii thii +bSigpt

a     2        cal biitii thii +bp    OKi    *Sgt
         the afternoon was well advanced

uTh     jo laRkii darwaaze ke paas khaRii thii wo ekaaek

a  1 2 bol uThii +gibSpat    uTh bolii +g   ?p   *ibSat
         the girl who was standing near the door suddenly
         spoke up

b  1   phuuljhaRii se cingaariyAA ekaaek nikal uThII +bgp
   2                                     uTh niklII +bgp
         sparks suddenly showered from the sparkler
         phuuljhaRii se cingaariyAA ekaaek

   3 4 nahII niklII +bgp        nahII uThII *bgp
         sparks didn't suddenly shower from the sparkler[5]
```

5/ The negative test is not decisive for uTh-al and -a2.

With dhar and with de we occasionally find main verbs
in reordered sequences which do not occur with dhar or
de in unreordered sequences. These main verbs appear to
be all intransitives:

dhar   wo wahAA dhar baiThii Vpg Dt *b baiTh dharii *ptgb

       she sat right down there (and wouldn't budge)[6]

de 1   wo itne zor se de bhaagii +Svp OKi *bgt

   2   bhaag dii *ibg ?S +vpt

       ki ham use nahII pakaR sake

       she lit out of there so fast we couldn't catch

       her

b 1   baaz parinde par de jhapTaa +vSibp *gt

   2   jhapaT diyaa *Sgibpt   ?v

       the hawk swooped down on the bird

       Another interesting reversal is that occasion-
ally observed where the main verb is a complex element
consisting of an 'adjective' and a verbal operator:

c 1   pair se maar kar darwaazaa band kar do +bigSpt

       kick the door shut!

The reordering operation if it applies at all treats
such complex verbs as unit stems:[7]

6/ This observation applies to the dhar-sequence cited
   by Van Olphen (p 171):
   a b ghoRaa dhar bhaagaa Vpg Ot *b bhaag dharaa *ptgb
       the horse ran off

7/ There has been a controversy on the proper charac-
   terization of 'complex verbs' in Hindi. The inter-
   ested reader may turn to Kachru 1968, pp 82-91.

c   pair se maar kar darwaazaa

  2 3 <u>de band karo</u> +b ?p *igSt <u>band de karo</u> *bigSpt

      The item <u>maar</u> is rather infrequently noted as a vector verb in unreordered sequences;[8] its presence in reverse sequences has so far escaped notice:

<u>maar</u> 1 mAI ne preziDeNT ko ek ciTThii <u>likh maarii thii</u>

    2 +bSipt PJg   <u>maar likhii thii</u> +bi *gSpt

      i dashed off a letter to the president

b 1   us kaa kamraa <u>chaan maaro</u> +biSptg

   2   <u>maar chaano</u> +b Og *Sipt

      search his room!

      Except for the example of <u>cal</u> given here, all the instances of reversed compound verbs which we have encountered express actions which involve actual physical (as opposed to psychic or metaphoric) movement.[9] The conditions for reversal appear to include those emotions (anger, contempt, fear, surprise) which lead to extreme suddenness or indeliberateness in the performance of the action expressed. For some speakers verbs of running, throwing, hitting and breaking are all liable to reversal while more sedate or inherently durative verbs are

---

8/ Bahl 1964 considers such occurrences of <u>maar</u> to derive from conjoined main verbs. See his example 457, Appendix II, p 26.

9/ A feature which the reversal of vector sequences has in common with reversal of factor sequences. See discussion below in section 3.2.5.

not:[10]

j 1 2 us ne gilaas <u>toR diyaa</u> +pgb   <u>de toRaa</u> +pb   Og

      he broke a glass

k 1 2 us ne gilaas <u>banaa diyaa</u> +pgb <u>de banaayaa</u> ?p[11] *gb

      he made a glass

l 1 2 us ne makaan <u>banaa diyaa</u> +pgb <u>de banaayaa</u> *pgb

      · he built a house

Furthermore the expression of an action with a reordered

verb sequence implies a certain wilfulness that is not

specified in the unreordered sequence:

m 1   us ne bhuul se gilaas <u>toR diyaa</u> +pgb

   2   <u>de toRaa</u> *pb   ?g

      he broke the glass by accident (cf set j1-2)

     The problem of delimiting the productivity of re-

ordering is further complicated by the extreme dialectal

and idiolectal variation that is encountered in spea-

kers on just this point. In general, it seems that those

who come from the more easterly parts of the Hindi spea-

king area and those having less contact with village

life accept relatively few reversed sequences. For such

speakers the descriptive problem probably admits of a

10/ Why only <u>de</u> and <u>maar</u> and not <u>Daal</u> (which often co-
    occurs with main verbs expressing violent acts)
    should permit reordering is a ·complete ·mystery.

11/ k2 seems less acceptable because it usually takes
    longer to make a glass than break one. However:
    a us ne do minaT mE gilaas <u>de banaayaa</u> +pb *g
     · he whipped off a glass in two minutes

lexical solution. For speaker t, for instance, only a handful of reversed expressions (<u>de maar</u>, <u>de paTak</u>, <u>cal uR</u>) are acceptable. (Significantly, the first of these has become sufficiently well integrated into the literary language to find a place in dictionaries: mhk 4.346)

Below we give a recapitulation of different speakers' reactions to different reversed sequences in tabular form.[12]

	t	S	g	i	p	v	j	b
<u>de maar</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<u>de paTak</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<u>de bhagaa</u>	*	*	*	+	+	+		+
<u>de giraa</u>	*	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
<u>de band kar</u>	*	*	*	*	?			+
<u>de bhaag</u>	*	+	*	*	+	+		*
<u>cal uR</u>	+	*	+		+		+	+
<u>cal biit</u>	*	*	*	OK	+			+
<u>uTh bol</u>	*	*	+	*	?			*
<u>maar likh</u>	*	*	*	+	*	*	*	+
<u>maar chaan</u>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+

12/ It should be borne in mind that speakers may be reacting to quite different criteria when making responses. In this case, it was discovered quite after the fact unfortunately that g was assenting only to those sequences she herself would actually use while p would accept things she had heard others in her village use. In fact their linguistic backgrounds are quite similar.

3.2.3 Homotactic sequences: reversal of con-
        joined main verbs

A second type of reordered verb sequence is made
up not of reversed compound verbs but of reversed con-
junct sequences.[1] That is, in certain cases the output
of Rule 17, kar-Deletion, undergoes the operation speci-
fied by Rule 18, Reversal:

a 0   wo ghoRaa laayaa aur hamaare uupar caRhaa

       diyaa +ptgb

  1   us ne ghoRaa hamaare uupar laa kar caRhaa

       diyaa +pabtg   =ptgb

  2   us ne ghoRaa hamaare uupar laa caRhaayaa =pabtg

  3   wo ghoRaa hamaare uupar caRhaa laayaa =pabtg

       he brought his horse right on top of us

Aside from the equivalence of these four sentences as

attested to by speakers, support for this analysis of

a3 is provided by the absence of a sequence with unde-

1/ The possibility of the existence of reverse conjunct
   sequences in Hindi is suggested by Poří̌zka 1969,
   paragraph 25.5. However, the examples he presents
   are quite clearly something else:
   a   tum dekh aae wo goh kii khaal suukh gaii hai
       ki nahII +ptgb
       have you seen whether the lizard skin has dried
       or not (and come back from seeing)?
   Poří̌zka translates this as:
       have you come to see whether the skin of the li-
       zard has got dry or not?
   Poří̌zka here seems to have been misled by the tenden-
   cy of European languages to express forehand action
   (go and see) rather than the aftermaths of important

leted <u>kar</u> corresponding to it:

a 4   wo ghoRaa hamaare uupar <u>caRhaa kar le aayaa</u> *pbg[2]

Evidence for the existence of reverse conjunct sequences is also available from analysis of co-occurrence restrictions. The verb <u>jhapaT</u> meaning 'pounce' or 'spring upon' requires the marking of the victim or goal of the pounce by the postposition <u>par</u>:

b 1   baaz bayaa par <u>jhapaT paRaa</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>de jhapTaa</u> +p Og *tb

  3   baaz bayaa ko <u>jhapaT paRaa</u> *ptb Dg[3]

  4   <u>de jhapTaa</u> *ptb ?g

the hawk pounced on the weaver bird

Thus the regime in the following cannot be explained as being that of main verb <u>jhapaT</u>:

c 1   baaz bayaa par <u>le jhapTaa</u> *ptgb

  2   baaz bayaa ko <u>le jhapTaa</u> +pgb *t

the hawk snatched the weaver bird

---

action (see and <u>come</u>), which is a tendency in Hindi. As far as communicative function is concerned there is no reason why a tripartite act, say, <u>fetch</u> (1. <u>go</u>, 2. <u>get</u>, 3. <u>come back</u>) cannot be expressed just as efficiently by mention of its last two components (<u>get and come</u>) as by mention of the first two (<u>go and get</u>) or by mention of the medial component alone (<u>get</u>).

2/ Speaker t finds a4 acceptable and equivalent to a0, al, a2 and a3. However, he does not accept a5:
a 5 us ne ghoRaa hamaare uupar <u>caRhaayaa aur le aayaa</u>
To account for a4, then, we must posit a Rule 71 of <u>kar</u>-Insertion, the mirror image of <u>kar</u>-Deletion. For further discussion see below, section 3.4.2.

That leaves main verb <u>le</u> in a derivation as follows:[4]

     baaz <u>jhapTaa aur</u> bayaa ko <u>le liyaa</u> +pgb

GT 4:[5] baaz ne <u>jhapaT kar</u> bayaa ko <u>le liyaa</u> =pgb

Clump:[6]baaz ne bayaa ko <u>jhapaT kar le liyaa</u> =pgb +t

R 17: baaz ne bayaa ko <u>jhapaT liyaa</u> = ptgb

R 18: baaz bayaa ko <u>le jhapTaa</u> =pg   *tb

     the hawk pounced and took the weaver bird

i. e.; the hawk snatched the weaver bird

    The undefined rearrangements and deletions that

may accompany <u>kar</u>-Deletion (or for that matter, Non-Fi-

nite Conjunction[5]) often obscure the relation of reverse

conjunct sequences to their syntactic cognates. For ex-

ample, although

d 1   us ne tarkiib <u>nikaal socii</u> +btg   ?p

     he thought up a way out

is felt to be the equivalent of

d 2   us ne tarkiib <u>soc kar nikaal lii</u> =bpt Dg

it is however not the equivalent of

d 3   us ne tarkiib <u>socii aur nikaal lii</u> *ptgb

4/ Of course, derivation in the formal sense is not in-
  tended here. However, since each of the four rules
  mentioned here is 'optional' (if we forget about
  differences in connotation and expressiveness), the
  progressive changes made by the application of each
  rule to an underlying form is reflected in the dif-
  ferent surface structures in the derivation of which
  progressively more of these optional rules have been
  allowed to apply.

5/ From Bahl 1964. See above, section 3.2.1, fn 2.

6/ Discussed below. Also see section 3.2.1, fn 13.

but of d4:

d 4   us ne <u>socaa aur</u> tarkiib <u>nikaal lii</u> =tgpb

lit: he thought and (as a result of thinking) came

      up with a way out

It is clear that between d4 and d2 there should be an

intermediate sentence d5:

d 5   us ne <u>soc kar</u> tarkiib <u>nikaal lii</u> =gpb

In order to convert this sentence's (underlying) form

into the input for Rule 17, we propose a rule 'Clump'

which accounts for the migration of conjunctive parti-

ciples (<u>soc kar</u>, etc.) to a position directly to the

left of the last verb. This clumping of main verbs at

the end of the sentence is an important step in the

formation of the homotags of compound verbs.[7]

     Deletions also play an important part in the for-

mation of homotags. For instance, it appears likely that

there is in the derivation of the common reverse con-

junct sequence <u>aa nikal</u> 'appear' a deletion of <u>kahII se</u>

'from somewhere' or similar phrase:

e 1   Serwaanii pahne ek dublaa saa aadmii kahII se

     <u>nikal kar</u> saRak par <u>aa jaataa hai</u> (shS 138) +gpb

  2   Serwaanii pahne ek dublaa saa aadmii saRak par

     <u>aa nikaltaa hai</u> =gpb   Wp

<u>7</u>/ It would be nice to know just which constituents in
   the second verb's clause may be hopped over by the
   first verb under Clumping.

a thin man wearing a shervani comes out from

someplace onto the road

f 1 daiwyog usii waqt munSii riyaasat alii <u>aa nikle</u> $^{+pb}_{+g}$

2 ...alii kahII se <u>nikal kar</u> wahAA <u>aa gae</u> =g Dp *b
                                                       ˩

at that very moment it so happened that the clerk

of the estate riyasat ali appeared

A convincing proof of this analysis of <u>aa nikal</u>, however,

must depend on something less controvertible than spea-

kers' intuitions about equivalence.[8]

Other examples of reversed conjunct sequences:

<u>aa</u>[9] hiraN Sikaarii ke cangul mE <u>aa kar phAs gayaa</u> +ptg
                                                            Db

R 17   <u>aa phAsaa</u> =ptgb

R 18   <u>phAs aayaa</u> =tgp Wp Db

                                   <u>phAs kar aa gayaa</u> *gpb

the stag came and fell into the clutches of the

hunter

<u>kuud</u> cor makaan se baahar <u>kuud kar nikal gayaa</u> +btpg

R 17   <u>kuud niklaa</u> =btpg

R 18   <u>nikal kuudaa</u> =bp Dg Wp Og *t

                             <u>nikal kar kuud paRaa</u> Dptgb

the burglar jumped out of the house

8/ Although not explicitly discussed it is clear from
   examples he uses that Dwarikesh is not unaware of the
   problem of permutation and deletion of constituents
   under conjunctive participle formation. See senten-
   ces 246, 247 and 249 in Dwarikesh 1971, pp 118-9.

9/ The examples are listed under that item that becomes
   homotactic with vector verbs by virtue of Rules 17-8.

nikaal baap ne apne beTe ko ghar se

       nikaal kar baahar kar diyaa +pbtg

R 17 nikaal baahar kiyaa =pbtg

R 18 baahar kar nikaalaa =pbtg Wt Og

       baahar kar ke nikaal diyaa *btg ?p

       the father turned his son out of the house

baahar kar baap ne beTe ko ghar se

       baahar kar ke bhagaa diyaa +bt Wp *g

R 17 baahar kar bhagaayaa =pbt Wt *g

R 18 bhagaa baahar kiyaa =pb Og *t

       bhagaa kar baahar kar diyaa *pbt Og =g

       the father drove his son away from home

bhej raam ne DaakTar ko bhej kar bulaa liyaa +ptgb

R 17   bhej bulaayaa =ptgb

R 18   bulaa bhejaa =p Dgb *t

                  bulaa kar bhej diyaa *p Dtgb

       ram sent for a doctor

       us ne naii saaRii dukaan se bhej kar mAgaa lii

R 17 +btgp   bhej mAgaaii =btp *g

R 18   mAgaa bhejii =bgp *t

                mAgaa kar bhej dii Dbt
                             Dpg
       she sent to the store for a new sari

haTaa us ke kapRe itne gande the ki us ne unhE

       haTaa kar baahar kar diyaa +btg Wp

R 17 haTaa baahar kiyaa =bpg *t

R 18   <u>baahar kar haTaayaa</u> =pb   *tg

        <u>baahar kar ke haTaa diyaa</u> *ptb

        his clothes were so dirty she threw them out

        Given the main verbs with which it occurs in

vector position, it might at first sight seem possible

to account for <u>khaR@ ho</u> as itself a main verb permuted

to the right by successive applications of Clump, <u>kar-</u>

Deletion and Reversal: <u>bhaag khaR@ ho</u> 'get up and run?',

<u>cal khaR@ ho</u> 'get up and go?', <u>nikal khaR@ ho</u> 'get up

and go out?'. However, given sentences in which these

sequences occur, speakers do not find the corresponding

terms of the relation defined by the rules of <u>kar</u>-Dele-

tion and Reversal to be acceptable:

g   duusre din se donO mitr Adhere mUh ghar se

  1   <u>nikal khaRe hote</u> (pcr 118) +ptgb

  2   <u>khaRe ho nikalte</u> (g1 minus R 18) *tgpb

  3   <u>khaRe ho kar nikal jaate</u> (g2 minus R 17) Dpgb =t[10]

        duusre din se donO mitr Adhere mUh <u>khaRe ho kar</u>

  4   ghar se <u>nikal jaate</u> (g3 minus Clump) Dgb =t *p

        from the next day on both friends would be up and

        out of the house before dawn

It is quite possible, however, that the occurrence of

<u>khaR@ ho</u> in vector position with main verbs such as <u>cal</u>,

---

10/ The fact that speaker t does not find g2 acceptable
    raises some question as to how to interpret his re-
    action to g3 and g4. It is of course not inconceiv-
    able that for him Rules 17 and 18 must both apply

bhaag, and nikal[11] owes its origin to the application
of these rules to sequences similar to that of g4 with
a subsequent specialization of meaning and syntactic
isolation of the resulting sequences. Such diachronic
processes as semantic specialization and syntactic iso-
lation may be behind much of the development and pro-
liferation that may be observed in the compound verb
systems of Indo-Aryan.[12]

3.2.4 Homotactic sequences: constellated main verbs

Another verb-verb sequence which is structurally
congruent to the compound verb is that composed of
nearly synonymous main verbs:

a   unhO ne raam ko biraadrii se <u>alag kar nikaalaa</u> +bp

        they outcasted ram   Og

11/ With aa and uTh, the two other main verbs with which
khaR@ ho commonly occurs in literary Hindi, the vec-
tor sequences may have been at one time able to be
accounted for by kar-Deletion alone. The sequence
bigaR khaR@ ho noted by Beskrovnyj 1964, p 59, does
not admit of any transformational account be it syn-
chronic or diachronic. In colloquial and dialectal
Hindi, khaR@ ho occurs with a large range of main
verbs. See section 3.6.1.

12/ For other speculations on the origin and development
of the compound verb in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan
languages see Chatterji 1926, pp 1049-50; Masica
1971, p 225; Pořízka 1968, pp 248-9; Vale, pp 264-7;
and Southworth 1971, pp 168-9.

In the sequence alag kar nikaalaa both verbs share the
meaning element: 'to cause to become separate'. One
might argue that the activity expressed by alag kar 'to
separate' might be considered prior to that of nikaal
'to expel' and therefore the sequence in al should be
considered a derivation from alag kar ke nikaal diyaa
'having separated (ram), threw him out' via kar-Deletion
However, it is not clear from the meanings of the indi-
vidual verbs that it would be impossible to argue for
a derivation from nikaal kar alag kar diyaa 'expelling
(ram), separated (him from the caste)', as well. In any
case, neither sequence with the conjunctive marker kar
is accepted as equivalent:

a   unhO ne raam ko biraadrii se

  2   alag kar ke nikaal diyaa Db   Og   ?p   =g$^{.1}$

  3   nikaal kar alag kar diyaa *bg   ?p

        In many cases such constellations of main verbs
are 'reversible' although which order is to be consi-
dered reverse and which, obverse is, of course, not de-
terminable:

a 4   unhO ne raam ko biraadrii se nikaal alag kiyaa +bgp
It is perhaps not surprising that one order as opposed
to the other does not connote greater speed, violence
or peremptoriness. (contrast 3.2.2.el-2)

1/ a 5 alag kiyaa aur nikaal diyaa *gpb(see fn 2, below)

Such constellations are best considered unit i-

dioms. A handful of further examples is given below:

b 1   kaam karte karte ham <u>mar miTe</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>miT mare</u> =ptgb Wpb

  3 4 <u>mar ke miT gae</u> *pgb =t^2 <u>miT ke mar gae</u> *pgb =t Wt

      par natiijaa kuch na huaa

      we killed ourselves working on this with nothing

      to show for it (<u>mar</u> 'die; vanish'; <u>miT</u> 'be erased')

c 1 2 us par musiibat <u>aa banii</u> +ptgb <u>ban aaii</u> =pgb Wpb *t

  3 4 <u>aa kar ban gaii</u> ≠p *tgb <u>ban kar aa gaii</u> *tgpb

      misfortune overtook him (<u>aa</u> 'come'; <u>ban</u> 'become')[3]

d 1   hamlaa karne ke liye us kii fauj <u>caRh dhaaii</u> +ptgb

  2 3 <u>dhaa caRhii</u> =p *tgb <u>caRh kar dhaa gaii</u> *tgb ?p

  4   <u>dhaa kar caRh gaii</u> *tgpb (<u>caRh</u> 'charge'; <u>dhaa</u> 'run')

      his army rushed to the attack

e   angrez kii senaa ne muGal saamraajy

  1   <u>dabaa baiThaayaa</u> +p *tb Og

  2   <u>baiThaa dabaayaa</u> =p *tgb

  3   <u>dabaa kar baiThaa diyaa</u> *ptgb (<u>dabaa</u> 'subdue')

  4   <u>baiThaa kar dabaa diyaa</u> *ptgb (<u>baiThaa</u> 'crush')

2/ Speaker t finds b3 and b4 acceptable. However:
  b 5 kaam karte karte ham <u>mare aur miT gae</u> *t
    6   <u>miTe aur mar gae</u> *t
  Apparently this is another case of <u>kar</u>-Insertion. See
  section 3.2.3, fn 2, and section 3.4.2.

3/ The verbs <u>aa</u> and <u>ban</u> may seem to be very far from be-
  ing synonyms. In the context of <u>musiibat</u>, however,
  they are mutually substitutable:
  a   us par musiibat <u>aa paRii thii</u> +ptgb
  b   <u>ban paRii thii</u> =pg *tb
  misfortune overtook him

```
                the english army brought down the mogul empire
f       aawaaraa-gardii mE us ne zindagii
   1 2  kaaT nikaalii +gpb       nikaal kaaTii =gp   *b
   3    kaaT kar nikaal dii *gpb (kaaT 'mark, pass time')
   4    nikaal kar kaaT dii *gpb (nikaal 'spend time')
        he passed his life in idleness
g 1     wo pahle hii wahAA pahUc Tapkii thii +pb  OKg   *t
  2                       Tapak pahUcii thii =pb *tg
  3     pahUc kar Tapak gaii thii *gb  ?pt
  4     Tapak kar pahUc gaii thii *ptgb
        she had already made that scene
        (pahUc 'arrive'; Tapak 'appear; drop in; drip')
```

It seems quite likely that constellation is an intermediate point in the development of compound verbs from sequences of main verbs that may be accounted for by transformations. As synonymous and quasi-synonymous items come to be substituted for one or the other of a constellated pair the other gradually acquires a flexibility in its privileges of occurrence that rules out exhaustive account by listing. The item nikaal seems to be passing through this stage in modern day Hindi.[4] The item baahar kar 'put out' seems to be approaching it.[5]

4/ See further examples of nikaal-sequences in section 3.6.7. Sub-synonymy, discussed there and in 3.6.6, strikes me as being the stage following constellation in the grammaticalization or 'vectorization' of verbs.

5/ Regarded as a vector by Jelovkov 1963, p 92.

3.2.5 Homotactic sequences: reversal of factor
        verb sequences

There is yet a fourth type of verb-verb sequence
which is reversible:

a   ghaayal Ser golii khaa kar zamiin par

  1 2 <u>luRhak gayaa</u> +bptg   <u>jaa luRhkaa</u> =bptg

      the wounded tiger was hit and toppled to the

      ground (kb64 Appendix II 28)

This type of reversible sequence is distinguished from
the third type (constellated main verbs) by the follow-
ing features: a) the two verbs are not roughly synony-
mous; b) not only do their meanings differ, but one of
the two is semantically dominant:

b   ghaayal Ser golii khaa kar bhii zamiin par

  1 2 <u>nahII luRhkaa</u> +ptgᵇ <u>nahII gayaa</u> *tᵇ Dp =g

      even though the wounded tiger had taken a hit

      he didn't topple to the ground[1]

Yet the semantically less important element has
not completely lost its meaning either. Rather, each
member describes some aspect of a unified activity. In
contrast to sequences of conjoined main verbs, it is not
possible to discover a before-and-after relation between

---

[1] For the use of negative correspondents to determine
the main verb, see section 3.2.2, sentences a3-4 and
f3-4.

these aspects:

a   ghaayal Ser golii khaa kar zamiin par

 3   <u>jaa kar luRhak gayaa</u> *b Dpg =t^2

 4   <u>luRhak kar calaa gayaa</u> Dbptg

The <u>jaa</u> 'go' and <u>luRhak</u> 'tumble' of al-2 describe simul-
taneous components or factors of a single act. In order
to suggest the greater degree of semantic autonomy of
<u>jaa</u> in al (as opposed to that of <u>jaa</u> in, say:

c   raam baRaa <u>ho gayaa</u>   ram got big/grew up)

we call it a 'factor verb'.

      Where the meaning of the predominant element or
main verb permits, the factor <u>jaa</u> may be in contrast with
<u>aa</u>:

d 1   sAIkRO ujjwal AAkhE hamaarii or <u>aa lagII</u> +bptg

 2   un kii or <u>jaa lagII</u> +ptgb

      bright eyes by the hundred turned in our/their

      direction

and occasionally even with <u>nikal</u>:

e   mujhe aate hue dekhte hii mere kamre se

 1 2 <u>nikal bhaagii</u> +ptgb   <u>bhaag niklii</u> =ptgb

      as soon as she saw me coming she ran out of my

      room

f   mujhe aate hue dekhte hii duusre kamre mE

 1 2 <u>jaa bhaagii</u> +pg *tb <u>bhaag gaii</u> =ptgb

2/ Apparently another case of <u>kar</u>-Insertion in t's speech:
   a 5 <u>gayaa aur</u> zamiin par <u>luRhak gayaa</u> ≠t

as soon as she saw me coming she ran into ano-

ther room

g   use aate hue dekhte hii mere kamre mE

  1 2   aa bhaagii +p Wg *tb bhaag aaii =pg +tb

as soon as she saw him coming she ran into my

room

Like dhar and de when used with intransitive main

verbs[3] factor verbs in some cases occur only in reor-

dered sequences:[4]

d 3   sAIkRO ujjwal AAkhE hamaarii or lag aaII +b ?g *pt

bright eyes by the hundred turned in our direc-

tion (contrast d1)

What distinguishes reversal of factor verb sequences

from that of vector verb sequences (section 3.2.2) is

that reversibility of the former depends on the degree

to which the factor retains its primary lexical meaning.

In vector sequences like paTak de and likh maar, rever-

sibility depends on global features of the action depic-

ted and is independent of the degree to which a compo-

nent of 'giving' or 'striking' features in it. Thus, se-

quences in which aa, jaa, or nikal function not only as

3/ See the seventh page of section 3.2.2.

4/ Similarly for aa pahUc:
  a b wo yahAA aa pahUcaa +gpb   pahUc aayaa *gb ?p
    he arrived here
  Perhaps with aa the unreordered sequences interfere
  with the causatives: lagaa 'apply'; pahUcaa 'deliver'

elements expressing completion[5] but also determine the
direction of some actual physical movement are those
which are subject to reversal. For example, in sets h
and j, aa is a factor verb expressing the direction of
the movement of tears or clouds. In sets i and k, aa is
functioning as a vector verb, expressing no more than
the completion of that movement:

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h 1   us kii AAkhO mE AAsuu <u>bhar aae</u> +ptbg

  2   <u>aa bhare</u> =ptbg   Wpg   आ FACTOR

       tears welled up in her eyes

i 1   us kii AAkhE AAsuO se <u>bhar aaII</u> +ptbg   आ VECTOR

  2   <u>aa bharII</u> *ptbg

       her eyes welled with tears

j 1 2 aakaaS mE baadal <u>ghir aae</u> +ptgb <u>aa ghire</u> =ptgb आ FACTOR

       clouds flooded into the sky

k 1   aakaaS baadlO se <u>ghir aayaa</u> +tgb OKp   आ VECTOR

  2   <u>aa ghiraa</u> *ptb   =g   Wg

       the sky was flooded with clouds

Similarly <u>jaa</u>:

l 1 2 jiine se uupar <u>caRh gaii</u> +ptgb <u>jaa caRhii</u> =ptb Dg[6]

       she climbed up by the stairs

m 1   ciinii kaa daam pacciis tak <u>caRh gayaa</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>jaa caRhaa</u> =ptgb

5/ See discussion of the functions of vectors at 4.2.

6/ Speaker g finds that 12 connotes a greater emphasis
   on arriving at the top of the stairs.

the price of sugar went up to twenty-five[7]

n 1   aaj pacciis rupye bahii par <u>caRh gae</u> +gpb

  2   <u>jaa caRhe</u> *gpb

today twenty-five rupees were entered in the

account book

(n2 implies rupees have feet: +p)

Not every factor verb sequence is subject to re-

versal:

o   us ke bahut adhik coT lagii thii parantu apne khe-

1   me tak kisii prakaar wo <u>ghisaT aayaa</u> +bptg

2   <u>aa ghisTaa</u> Dp ?g *b

he was very badly hurt but somehow or other he

managed to drag himself up to his tent

We are proposing here only that if a verb-verb sequence

in <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u> or <u>nikal</u> is reversible then it is not a vec-

tor sequence but a factor sequence.

It is also true that what we call factor sequen-

ces may have a variety of sources:

o 3   ...apne kheme tak kisii prakaar wo <u>ghisaTte</u>

       <u>ghisaTte aa gayaa</u> =gpb

g   use aate hue dekhte hii mere kamre mE

  3 4   <u>bhaagii huii aaii</u> =gpb   <u>bhaag kar aaii</u> =gpb

---

7/ An increase in price may strike the reader as rather
far from an 'actual physical movement' and indeed our
definition of factor verbs may have to be loosened to
include metaphorical extensions of such movements.
The reader should contrast m2 with i2 or n2 in which
there is no movement of eyes or rupees actual or meta-

But in general the setting up of a category does not
rule out the possibility of further sub-categorization
of its members. Our intention here is only to distin-
guish the class factor from the class vector on the
basis of partial versus complete grammaticalization[8].

The class of factor verbs is composed of aa
'come', jaa 'go', nikal 'go out' and their respective
transitive counterparts: laa 'bring', le jaa 'take away'
and nikaal 'take out'. As the category as is, is as far
as we know, being proposed for the first time[9], it is to
be expected that further research will turn up other
members. In the absence of any reliable syntactic test
to distinguish factor sequences from vector sequences
(it will be noted that all of the proposed factor verbs
have homonymous correspondents among the vectors[10], we
must rely on an intuitive response to the question: Does
the item contribute a component of meaning to that of
the sequence as a whole which is analogous to that it
expresses as a main verb? Is this meaning component si-

FACTOR

8/ For further discussion of this concept, see 3.3.1.

9/ That some vector-like items express the direction of
movement or remain semantically more intact than
others has been observed in a number of places: Da-
vidova 1958, p 226; Hacker 1958, p 214; Jelovkov
1963, p 92. Pahwa 1936 goes so far as not to list aa
with his 'intensive auxiliaries' (=vectors) at all.
Compare pp 241-2 with p 246.

10/ Sequences with vector laa are rare enough to be
dealt with by listing as idioms. See 3.5, set f.

multaneous or serial to that of the other member of the
sequence? In order to facilitate such introspection we
present a number of examples of factor sequences, espe-
cially for laa, le jaa, nikal and nikaal:

laa 1   wo naaw is or (us or *bpt +g) khe laayaa +bptg
        he rowed the boat in this (in that) direction
le jaa wo naaw us or (is or *bpt +g) khe le gayaa +bptg
  1   he rowed the boat in that (in this) direction
laa 2   kuttaa ghar mE gande kapRe ghasiiT laayaa +bptg
        the dog dragged dirty clothes into the house
le jaa kuttaa ghar mE se kapRe ghasiiT le gayaa +ptgb
  2   the dog dragged the clothes out of the house
laa 3   jiiwan kii baadhaaE yahAA khIIc laatii thII +gpb
        the frustrations of life were drawing (them) to
        this place (pcr 108)
le jaa maidaan kii wo sukhad hariyaalii, hawaa ke wo hal-
        ke halke jhOke...waalii-baal kii wo tezii aur
  3   phurtii mujhe agyaat aur aniwaary ruup se khIIc
        le jaatii (pcr 24) +gpb
        the delightful green of the field, the gentle
        breezes...the speed and excitement of volley-ball
        used to draw me away unconsciously and ineluctably
aa 1   jiiwan kii baadhaaO se yahAA khIc aate the +gpb
                                              Wpb
   2   aa khIcte the =gpb
        they were drawn here by the frustrations of life

jaa   wahII baiThaa thaa lekin man se us kii oor

  1 2   <u>khIc jaataa</u> +gb   *p   <u>jaa khIctaa</u> =gb   ?p

         he would be sitting right there but in his mind

         he would be drawn away in her direction

<u>nikal</u>   parindaa apne pIjre mE se <u>uR niklaa</u> +bgp

  1   the bird flew out of its cage

  2   jel kii khiRkii se raam <u>kuud niklaa</u> +bgp

         ram jumped out of the prison window

  3   tumhaare khIIcne se sweTar <u>udhaR niklii</u> +bp *g

         my sweater unraveled from your pulling at it

<u>nikaal</u> tum ne khIIc kar merii sweTar <u>udheR nikaalii</u> +g PJp

  1   you unraveled my sweater by pulling at it   *b

<u>nikal</u>   haath lagte hii us ke kuch baal <u>jhaR nikle</u> +bp Og

  4   some hair came out with the touch of his hand

<u>nikaal</u> marammat kar ke us ke baal <u>jhaaR nikaale</u> +bgp

  2   they beat him up and tore out his hair

<u>nikal</u>   qaidiyO ne mahiinO koSiS kii aur ek din aaxirkaar

  5   nadii ke kinaare surang <u>phuuT niklii</u> +bptg

         the prisoners worked for months and finally one

         day by the bank of the river their escape tunnel

         holed through

<u>nikaal</u> qaidiyO ne mahiinO koSiS kii aur ek din aaxirkaar

  3   nadii ke kinaare unhO ne surang <u>phoR nikaalii</u>

         +bptg   ...and finally one day by the bank of the

         river they holed through their escape tunnel

3.2.6 Homotactic sequences: main and modal verb

Many writers, in discussing compound verbs, draw a distinction between them and formally congruent sequences of main plus modal verb: sak 'can, be able', cuk 'already', and sometimes paa 'manage'. This distinction is made on the basis of differences in the syntax and semantics of modal sequences as opposed to vector sequences.

I. Modal sequences behave differently from vector sequences when passivized.[1] Thus, while vectors either precede the passive marker jaa or do not occur with it at all, the modals sak and cuk distinguish themselves by coming to its right: ⌐ i.e. after the main verb

a 1   mAI ne xat likh Daalaa thaa +ptgb

     i wrote a letter/i dashed off a letter

 2   xat likh Daalaa gayaa thaa +ptgb

 3   xat likhaa jaa Daalaa thaa *ptgb

     a letter was written/dashed off

b   xat likhaa jaa saktaa hai +ptgb

     a letter can be written

1/ Masica (mimeo) makes a similar observation to distinguish cuk, sak, and paa from other operators (=vector verbs). However, he provides no example of the use of paa in a passive construction: p 15. Davidova 1958 uses the same argument to distinguish cuk and sak from 'intensivnyx' or 'obrazujuščix glagolov'. paa, however, she includes among the latter: pp 226-7.

c   xat <u>likhaa jaa cukaa hai</u> +ptgb

a letter has already been written

II. <u>sak</u> is distinguished by its inability to oc-
cur as a main verb.[2]

III. <u>sak</u>, <u>paa</u>, and <u>cuk</u> are alleged to occur
freely with any main verb while vectors do not.[3]

(handwritten margin note:) "important" "productivity"

IV. In contrast to vector verbs <u>sak</u> and <u>paa</u>
occur freely with negative elements:[4]

d   mAI ne xat <u>likh nahII Daalaa</u> *tgpb (as denial +g ?p)

i didn't dash off a letter

e 1   mAI xat <u>likh nahII sakaa</u> +tgpb

2   mAI xat <u>likh nahII paayaa</u> +tgpb

i couldn't (manage to) write a letter

V. <u>sak</u>, <u>paa</u>, and <u>cuk</u> do not occur in imperatives:[5]

f   xat <u>likh Daalo</u> +tgpb dash off a letter

g   xat <u>likh sako</u> *tgpb be able to write a letter

h   xat <u>likh paao</u> *tgpb manage to write a letter

i   xat <u>likh cuko</u> *tgpb already write a letter

VI. <u>paa</u> (and sometimes <u>sak</u>) occur in the progres-

---

2/ Davidova 1958, p 227; Pray mimeo, p 6, point (d).

3/ Pray mimeo, p 6, point (a).

4/ Bahl 1964, p 33, observes this of <u>sak</u>. Pray (mimeo)
states this for <u>sak</u>, <u>paa</u> and <u>cuk</u>: p 6, point (b).

5/ Observed by Bahl 1964, p 31.

sive:[6]

j   mAI bilkul <u>nahII samajh paa rahaa thaa</u> +gpb

       i was at a complete loss (act 50)

k   us kaa anumaan mAI <u>nahII lagaa sak rahaa thaa</u> +b

                                            ?p

       i was unable to make anything of it   *g

    VII. Modals <u>sak</u> and <u>paa</u> do not always imply the performance of the action expressed by the main verb with which they occur. It is alleged that vectors do:[7]

l   wo <u>aa saktaa thaa</u> lekin kabhii nahII aayaa +tgpb

       he could have come but never did

m   wo <u>aa jaataa thaa</u> lekin kabhii nahII aayaa *tgpb

       he used to come but never did

    VIII. Modals <u>sak</u> and <u>cuk</u> in concatenation with main verbs retain their own meanings while vectors do not.[8]

    The first point to be made is that none of these arguments distinguish the so-called modals <u>sak</u>, <u>paa</u> and <u>cuk</u> as a group from the vectors as a group. Only three of them mention all three modals: III, IV and V. We shall

---

6/ Noted by Pray mimeo, p 6, point (c).

7/ Pray mimeo, p 6, point (e).

8/ В отличие от сложных интенсивных глаголов(compound verbs: PH) компоненты потенциальной(sak) и комплетивной (cuk) форм не образуют единого лексического целого а сохраняют словарные значения. Davidova 1958, p 227. At first sight this argument when compared with point II above may seem rather circular. However, see discussion below.

examine these first.

III. This point is impossible to evaluate since neither Pray (mimeo) nor, for that matter, anyone else has ever attempted a statement of the co-occurrence restrictions for either the modals or the vectors with main verbs.

" productivity"

IV. This point is very important since the strict limitations on the occurrence of negated vector sequences is an important criterion for establishing the category vector.[9] However, Pray's inclusion of cuk cannot stand. Speakers accept negated cuk-sequences only under those conditions[10] which permit the negation of any compound verb:

n 1   mujhe Dar thaa kahII wo aa na cukaa ho OKgpb

  2   aa na gayaa ho +gpb

       i was afraid he might not already have come

o 1   wo nahII aa cukaa *gpb (as denial +g *p)

  2   nahII aa gayaa *gpb (as denial +g *p)

V. While it is true that modal sequences do not occur in the imperative this property does not distinguish them from all vector sequences:

p   tum ne murGiyAA paal rakhii hAI +gp

     you have raised chickens

9/ Discussed in section 3.3.2.

10/ Discussed in section 4.3.2.1.

q   murGiyAA <u>paal rakho</u> *b ?p Og   raise chickens!

r   bolte bolte ruk paRii aur mujhe <u>dekh uThii</u> +gb *p

       she stopped talking and gazed at me

s   mujhe <u>dekh uTho</u> *gpb[11]   gaze at me!

       Since <u>cuk</u> does not 'retain its meaning' in the
special sense we discuss below, that leaves only point
I to distinguish <u>cuk</u>, <u>paa</u> and <u>sak</u> as a class from vec-
tors as a class. Except that <u>paa</u> may not belong:

t   xat <u>likhaa jaa paataa hai</u> *gb Op

       a letter manages to be written

In fact, it seems that the peculiarity of syntax noted
in I with regard to <u>sak</u> may be limited to formal or
written styles of Hindi. The colloquial language has
other options for passivization of sequences containing
<u>sak</u> that are characteristic of vector sequences:

u   mAI ne us se bolne kii bahut koSiS kii, lekin

       wahAA bahut log the aur is lie us ke jaane se

   1   pahle mAI baat <u>nahII kar sakaa</u> +givpbt

   2   pahle baat <u>nahII kii jaa sakii</u> +givpbt

   3   <u>nahII kar sakii gaii</u> +vb Wg ?ip   *t

   4   <u>nahII kii jaa sakii gaii</u> +vib ?gp *t

       i tried very hard to talk to him but there were a

       lot of people there and for that reason i didn't

       get to talk with him before he left

For some speakers the pattern of u3 (which incidentally

<u>11</u>/ Sentence s is acceptable as a stage direction: +g *b

is the pattern found in Sanskrit and in Gujarati[12]) is
the only one permitting the occurrence of paa in a pas-
sive sequence (unless the main verb is replaced by the
corresponding anti-causative[13] as in v5):

v   mÁI ne us se bolne kii bahut koSiS kii lekin wahAA

       bahut log the aur is liye us ke jaane se pahle

1   mAI baat nahII kar paayaa +gpb

2   mujh se baat nahII kii jaa paaii *itbg   WWp

3   nahII kar paaii gaii +t Og Wip *b

4   kar na paaii jaa sakii +b OKp ?p

5   nahII ho paaii +itbgp

      (for gloss see sentence u)

Thus cuk's behavior under passivization is apparently an
accident or perhaps a reflection of the fact that the
corresponding main verb is not transitive. (None of the
vectors which are homonymous with intransitive main verbs
undergo passivization.) In any event it cannot be con-
sidered a decisive argument against considering cuk a
vector verb.

      VI. Although most vector sequences do not occur
in the progressive in the pattern of j and w, they do

12/ See remarks in section 4.3.2.9.fn 5.

13/ The term 'anti-causative' I borrow from Masica 1971,
    chapter 2. The relation between kar 'do; make' and
    kiy@ jaa 'be done; be made' and ho 'be(come)' is
    discussed by Pray 1970, p 181, and by Van Olphen
    1970, pp 60-1.

occur in the progressive in a slightly different form.[14]

What makes the pattern of j (and to the extent speakers

find it acceptable, of k) unusual is that it is in viola-

tion of the "consecutive root constraint"[15]. The explana-

tion for this may derive from the comparatively uncommon

alternate stem form in -ne found for the main verb pre-

ceding paa:

w   tum mere saamne phir <u>aane na paaoge</u>[16] +pgb

      you shall not be allowed to come before me again

In any event other vectors may be exceptionally found in

sequences violating the consecutive root constraint:

x   jaise indr bhagwaan paanii <u>uRel de rahe the</u> is

      sthal ko Dubaane ke liye (kb 1967 450) +gp OKb

      as if god indra were pouring down water in order

      to flood this place (also see 4.4.2.fn 8, sent. b)

      VII. While it is true that <u>sak</u>-sequences sometimes

do not have the perfective meaning proper to compound

verbs, this is not true of <u>paa</u>-sequences:

14/ Namely with -<u>e</u> (or -<u>y@</u>) affixed to the stem of the
main verb. See 4.3.2.10 below.

15/ Which says essentially that two or more bare verb
stems may not appear in succession. See 4.3.2.9.

16/ Quoted from Hooper 1917, pp 165-6. Barker 1967 notes
the pattern of w for modern Urdu: vol I, pp 394-5.
Although the regime of w would allow <u>paa</u>-sequences
in the progressive to observe the consecutive root
constraint such sequences are not accepted:
a mAI <u>samajhne nahII paa rahaa thaa</u> *gb ?p
   i was at a loss to understand   (cf j)

y 1 2 sirf raam <u>aa paataa thaa</u> +gpb   <u>aa saktaa thaa</u> +gpb

        only ram was able to come (in those days)

z 1   sirf raam <u>aa paataa thaa</u> lekin kabhii nahII aayaa

  2   *gpb   <u>aa saktaa thaa</u> lekin... +gpb

        only ram was able to come but he never did

Furthermore while <u>sak</u>-sequences do not imply the perfor-

mance of the activity expressed by the main verb in cer-

tain tenses, this does not hold for those based on the

past participle:

aa   wo baRii muSkil se <u>aa sakaa thaa</u> lekin kabhii na-

        hII aayaa *pgb   (see sentences l, m and z)

        he had barely been able to come but never did so

However, the point is moot since not all vectors imply

completion.[17]

        VIII. If the main verb <u>cuk</u> 'be paid off in full'

is to be in any way identified with modal <u>cuk</u>, then it

can hardly be said to retain its own meaning in concate-

nation with main verbs. The point seems even more obscure

with regard to <u>sak</u> which does not occur as a main verb

at all.[18] However, there is a sense in which <u>sak</u> does

retain its own meaning in a fashion that distinguishes it

from all vector verbs: it may by option and in certain

tenses only occur in a clause separate from that of its

17/ See discussion in section 4.1.

18/ If 'main verb' is defined as an item able to be fol-
    lowed by a vector, then <u>sak</u> certainly is not one.

main verb:

ab 1   is laRaaii mE bahut log <u>maare jaa sakte hAI</u> +giptb

    2   <u>ho saktaa hai</u> ki is laRaaii mE bahut log

       <u>maare jaaE</u> =giptb

       many people may be killed in this war

This is not true of <u>sak</u> in those tenses where it ex-

presses completion:

ac 1   is laRaaii mE baRii muSkil se bahut log

       <u>maare jaa sake hAI</u> +gb   ?p

    2   <u>ho sakaa hai</u> ki is laRaaii mE baRii muSkil se

       bahut log <u>maare jaate</u> *pgb

       with great difficulty many people have been able

       to be killed in this war

Thus we may conclude that the meaning of <u>sak</u> (but not of

<u>paa</u>) varies with tense. In the indicative tenses formed

on -<u>t@</u> (as in sentence 1) as well as the future and pos-

sibly others, <u>sak</u> occurs as stative verb expressing the

ability in one form or another of its agent to per-

form some activity. In tenses formed on -<u>y@</u>, both occur

as non-stative verbs expressing the success (or more

often the failure) of their agents to perform some ac-

tivity.

It is as non-statives that they might conveniently

be considered vector verbs (or, given their largely op-

posed syntactic properties, as 'anti-vector verbs'). As

such they fill important gaps in the aspectual paradigm where other vectors may not occur for different reasons but where the meaning demands explicit reference to completion:

negation: 1 2 wo <u>nahII aa sakaa</u> +pgb <u>nahII aa paayaa</u> +pgb

he could not come [17]   (see 3.3.2)

exclusion:1 2 sirf raam hii <u>aa sakaa</u> +pgb <u>aa paayaa</u> +pgb

only ram could come   (see 4.3.2.2)

difficulty: 1 wo baRii muSkil se <u>aa sakaa</u> +pgb

2   <u>aa paayaa</u> +pgb

with great difficulty he was able to come

he barely managed to come (see 4.3.2.3)

<u>jab tak</u>: 1 2 jab tak wo <u>aa sakaa</u> +g Wp Ob <u>aa paayaa</u> +pgb

tab tak ham wahAA se nikal gae the

by the time he got there we'd already left

(see section 4.2.4)

<u>se pahle</u>: 1 2 us ke <u>aa sakne</u> +pgb   <u>aa paane</u> +pgb

se pahle hii ham wahAA se nikal gae the

we'd already left before he got there

(see 4.3.4.1)

<u>baar</u>:   1 2 wo tiin baar <u>aa sakaa</u> OKg ?p <u>aa paayaa</u> +pg
                                        *b   +b
he managed to come three times   (4.3.2.8)

17/ There are of course important differences in the mea-
nings and uses of <u>sak</u> and <u>paa</u> that we are aware we
obscure here by giving a single translation for both
sentences. Our single intention here is to establish
certain properties that both <u>paa</u> and <u>sak</u> have in
common and which oppose them to the class of vectors.

3.3 The discriminating properties of the class of compound verbs

Features which distinguish a class of objects
from other objects should have two properties: I. All
objects within the class to be defined must possess the
discriminating properties of that class in common. II.
No objects outside that class should possess those pro-
perties (unless of course it is the conjunction of such
properties in individual objects that defines a class).

In the preceding section we have eliminated cer-
tain items from the class of vectors (and thus restric-
ted the class of possible compound verbs). In this sec-
tion, using the criteria for criteria outlined above, we
shall see if there might not be some positive criterion
or combination of criteria uniting the items traditional-
ly considered vector verbs in a single non-ad hoc cate-
gory.

3.3.1 Grammaticalization

In section 3.2 all the verb-verb sequences con-
sidered had this feature in common: the verb in the vec-
tor slot was not grammaticalized. In aa leTaa (3.2.1.a2)
and de bhagaayaa (3.2.2.a2), leT 'lie down' and bhagaa
'drive off' are functioning as main verbs; whereas in

leT gayaa (3.2.1.al) and bhagaa diyaa (3.2.2.al), jaa
and de have lost their primary lexical meanings: 'go.'
and 'give'. Thus we have non-lexical occurrence as a
possible criterion for the vector verb. Although the
occurrence of one vector verb as opposed to another may

[margin note: non-lexical occurance of the verb in vector slot]

have some tenuous relation with the differences in the
meanings of their homonymous counterparts among the main
verbs (for example, the well known contrast between vec-
tors de and le), the occurrence of any given vector as
opposed to its absence has no relation to such meanings.
Rejecting the possibility that the occurrence of a com-
pound verb instead of the corresponding simple verb is
governed by chance, we must suppose that this alterna-
tion expresses some category more abstract than those
available in Hindi-English glossaries. It is on the ba-
sis of such assumptions that the lexical emptying of de,
jaa, etc. has been called 'grammaticalization'.[1] Leaving
aside for a moment the question of whether the category
expressed by the compound::simple alternation is in fact
a grammatical one and if so how it may be characterized,[2]
let us as heuristic strategy adopt the concept of gram-
maticalization and see whether and to what degree it dis-

1/ The term has been used by Pořízka in his discussion
   of vector jàa. See Pořízka 1967, pp 71-2 and 79; Po-
   rizka 1968, pp 239-51 passim.

2/ Pořízka (1967, 1968, 1969) of course has his own an-
   swers to these questions which we discuss below: 4.2.

criminates a class at all similar to those proposed for the vector verb by the numerous writers on the subject. A compound verb then is a sequence of verb stem plus verb stem plus desinence in which one stem (usually the second) cannot be derived from its own separate clause or s(NP X v(_____)v)s structure, yet which is homonymous with an item that can.

Clearly such a criterion includes too much in the category vector verb. In

a   raam ke hOTh <u>suukh rahe the</u> +pgb

        ram's lips were parching

the stem <u>rah</u> functions as a grammatical particle expressing the progressive aspect[3]. It does not occur here in its primary meaning of 'stay' or 'live' or 'remain', nor can it be derived from its own clause[4].

However if the formal definition of compound verb is loosened sufficiently to include sequences like:

b$_1$ strii kii sthiti samaaj kii nIIw ko khokhlaa

        <u>kiye de rahii hai</u> (kb64 appendix II 22) +pgb

        the position of woman is undermining the founda-

        tion of society

---

[3] Poří'zka 1967, argues that this particular sequence can be read as a vector sequence with a meaning similar to that of
a   raam ke hOTh <u>suukh gae the</u> (p 213)
     ram's lips had become parched

[4] Except by those grammarians who derive every overt morpheme (and a number of others) from its own clause.

that is if we include among compound verbs those sequen-

ces which correspond to sequences like:

b 2   strii kii sthiti samaaj kii nIIw ko khokhlaa

kar degii +pgb

the position of women will undermine the founda-

tion of society

in the same way that

b 3   strii kii sthiti samaaj kii nIIw ko khokhlaa

kar rahii hai +pgb

(see b1 for gloss)

corresponds to

b 4   strii kii sthiti samaaj kii nIIw. ko khokhlaa

karegii +pb *g (see b2 for gloss)

then this particular case of over-inclusion will be eli-

minated since our definition of compound verb allows

only one grammaticalized element to precede the desi-

nence.[5] If the rahii of b3 is 'the same' as the rahii of

b1, it, too, will have to be considered non-vector.

Although we present evidence elsewhere[6] to show

that b1 is related to b3 as b2 is related to b4 (and is

thus a compound verb in the progressive 'tense'), we

turn here to a more direct manner of excluding progres-

sive rah.

5/ Inclusion of le jaa then will depend on showing that
   it is in actuality a single stem. See section 3.6.13.

6/ Section 4.3.2.10.

3.3.2 Sensitivity to negation

It is well known[1] that the alternation simple:: compound verb is differentiated by the contrast in the indicative mood of positive versus negative statements. Compound verbs are rare in negative statements. The exceptions can be without too much uncertainty catalogued and accounted for.[2] For simple indicative statements the single important class of exceptions are those implying the denial of some preceding (or presupposed) statement framed with a compound verb. Thus Hori's statement:

a   murauwat murauwat kii tarah kii jaatii hai, apnaa

         ghar uThaa kar <u>nahII de diyaa jaataa</u> (g 26) +pgb

         there are limits to a favor, you don't simply

         pick up your house and turn it over to someone

implies that he believes (or pretends to believe) something like the following to be running through his wife's mind or to be implied by her actions:

b   ghar uThaa kar <u>de diyaa jaae</u> +pgb

         let's hand our house over to him

         Asking speakers to exclude this type of denial, we have had them compare the acceptability of a negated

---

[1] For a collection of references to the views of various writers on this point, the reader should turn to section 4.3.2.1.

[2] Such an account is to be found in section 4.3.2.1, sub-sections 1 through 6.

compound verb with that of the corresponding negated
simple verb. This was done with compound verbs contain-
ing in the second slot one or another of each of the
items found in section 3.1.1 providing that I. the item
is not exhaustively accounted for in section 3.2; and
II. the item is not known to occur with so few main
verbs that an account of it may be made simply by list-
ing.[3] For the positive sentences corresponding to the
negatives given here the reader is referred to the se-
cond member of the sentence sets in section 4.2.1.

c 1   gehUU <u>pak aae</u> +gbp   the wheat is nearly ripe

  2 3   gehUU <u>nahII pak aae</u> *gbp Cg   <u>nahII pake</u> +gbp

       the wheat is not done with ripening

d 1   Sokgrast aurat apne kapRe <u>nahII phaaR uThii</u> *gpb[4]

  2   Sokgrast aurat ne apne kapRe <u>nahII phaaRe</u> +gpb

       the grief-stricken woman did not tear at her

       clothes

e   ek aadmii ko apnii taraf aataa huaa dekh kar bhii

  1   xargoS <u>nahII bhaag khaRaa huaa</u> *gb Wp   Cg

  2 3 <u>bhaag nahII khaRaa huaa</u> *gb OKp   <u>nahII bhaagaa</u> +gp
                                                  +b

       even though he saw a man coming in his direction

       the rabbit did not run away

f 1   wo apnii gharwaalii ko bhii <u>nahII maar calaa</u> *gpb[5]

  2   us ne apnii gharwaalii ko bhii <u>nahII maaraa</u> +gpb

---

3/ See section 3.5.   <u>4/</u> Cg.   <u>5/</u> Cg.

f   he hasn't (begun to) hit his wife, too

g 1   riitaa gaay kaa goSt <u>nahII khaa cukii</u> *gpb   Cg [6]

  2   riitaa ne gaay kaa goSt <u>nahII khaayaa</u> +gpb

        rita has not eaten beef

h 1   us ne apne pati ko Saraabii <u>nahII banaa choRaa</u>

  2   *gpb   Cg   <u>nahII banaayaa</u> *gpb

        she did not make a drunkard out of her husband

i 1   raam fenii <u>nahII pii gayaa</u> *gpb   Cg [7]

  2   raam ne fenii <u>nahII pii</u> +gpb

        ram did not drink feni (cashew wine)

j 1   raadhaa ne Syaam kii ciTThii <u>nahII paRh Daalii</u>

  2   *gpb Cg   <u>nahII paRhii</u> +gpb

        radha ~~read~~ *did not* read shyam's letter

k 1   mAI ne us ko paise <u>nahII de diye</u> *gpb Cg

  2   <u>nahII diye</u> +gpb

        i did not give him the money

l 1   bhuut dekh kar bhii wo <u>nahII cillaa dii</u>[8] *gpb Cg

  2   <u>nahII cillaaii</u> +gpb

        even when she saw the ghost she did not scream

m 1   pahlwaan ne apne pratidwandwii ko <u>nahII dabaa</u>

  2   <u>dharaa</u> *gb   Cg   OKp   <u>nahII dabaayaa</u> +gpb

        the wrestler did not floor his opponent

n 1   mere nae juute <u>nahII carmaraa nikle</u> *gpb

<u>6/</u> Compare 3.2.6.01.   <u>7/</u> Compare 3.2.6.02.

<u>8/</u> Considering it possible that <u>de</u> with intransitive main
   verbs may differ in its properties...

n 2   mere nae juute <u>nahII carmaraae</u> +gpb

       my new shoes did not squeak

o 1   raam ne gaNit kaa praSn <u>nahII suljhaa nikaalaa</u>

  2   *gb ?p Cg   <u>nahII suljhaayaa</u> +gpb

       ram did not solve the math problem

p   Daakuu kaa cuTkulaa sun kar bhii mAI

  1 2 <u>nahII hAs paRaa</u> *gpb   Cg   <u>nahII hAsaa</u> +gpb

       even though i heard the dacoit's joke i did not

       laugh

q 1   pulis ko dekh kar bhii wo <u>nahII uTh baiThii</u> *gb

                                        Wp

  2   <u>nahII uThii</u> +gpb

       even though she saw the police she didn't get up

r 1   haraamxor saalan <u>nahII khaa maraa</u> *gpb Cg

  2   haraamxor ne saalan <u>nahII khaayaa</u> +gpb

       the bastard didn't eat the curry

s   itnii kartuutE karne par bhii baap ne use ghar se

  1 2 <u>nahII bhagaa maaraa</u> *gpb   <u>nahII bhagaayaa</u> +gpb

       even after committing so many misdeeds his father

       didn't kick him out

t 1   mAI ne upaay <u>nahII soc rakhaa thaa</u> *gpb   Cg

  2   <u>nahII socaa thaa</u> +gpb

       i had not thought of a way out

u 1   wo palang par <u>nahII so rahii</u> *gpb Cg

  2   <u>nahII soii</u> +gpb

       she did not go to sleep on the bed

v   kyaa us ne sabhii khaanaa khaa liyaa? nahII,

  1   sab to <u>nahII khaa liyaa</u> *ptb Wg

  2   <u>nahII khaayaa</u> +ptgb

did he eat up all his dinner? no, not all of it

w   apne pati ke dehaant kii xabar sun kar bhii wo

 1 2 <u>nahII ro lii</u>[9] *gpb   Cg   <u>nahII roii</u> +gpb

even hearing the news of her husband's demise

she did not weep

x 1   wo saarii mahfil <u>nahII rijhaa le gaii</u> *gpb Cgp

  2   us ne saarii mahfil <u>nahII rijhaaii</u> +gpb

she did not charm all her audience

In all some twenty items are grouped together by this test:

<u>aa</u>	<u>choR</u>	<u>nikal</u>	<u>maar</u>
<u>uTh</u>	<u>jaa</u>	<u>nikaal</u>	<u>rakh</u>
<u>khaR@ ho</u>	<u>Daal</u>	<u>paR</u>	<u>rah</u>
<u>cal</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>baiTh</u>	<u>le</u>
<u>cuk</u>	<u>dhar</u>	<u>mar</u>	<u>le jaa</u>

The items which this test excludes are of course <u>paa</u> and <u>sak</u>[10] and sequences containing progressive <u>rah</u>:

y 1   wo palang par <u>so rahii hai</u> +gpb

  2   <u>nahII so rahii (hai)</u> +gpb

1 (2) she is (not) sleeping on the bed (cf gloss to u)

<u>9</u>/ See footnote 8 above.

<u>10</u>/ See sentences 3.2.6.e1 and 3.2.6.e2.

However, the negative test does not exclude the verb-verb sequences described in section 3.2.1:[11]

z   jo pahle yah kaam karte the we agar <u>choR jaate</u>

       to meraa nambar thaa lekin we

  1 2   <u>choR nahII gae</u> *gpb   <u>choR kar nahII gae</u> +gpb

      if the people who had been filling these jobs

      previously had left them (and gone) then i would

      have been next in line but they didn't leave them

aa 1   raam sTeSan se saamaan <u>nahII le aayaa</u> *gpb Cg

   2   <u>nahII laayaa</u> +gpb

   3   <u>le kar nahII aayaa</u>[12]+pb Dg

      ram didn't bring the luggage from the station

(ab   raam sTeSan se saamaan <u>le aayaa</u> +gpb

      ram brought the luggage from the station)

      Therefore, we must conclude that although the negative test (together with the formal restriction) is necessary to define the set of compound·verbs in a direct way,[13] it is not sufficient. We still need the criterion of grammaticalization.

11/ This is one of a number of occasions we shall have to remark on the similarity of the syntactic behavior of conjunct sequences and compound verbs. *important*

12/ le aa is unique in its being simultaneously definable as a compound verb (corresponding to which is the simple verb <u>laa</u>) and as a conjunct sequence from which <u>kar</u> has been deleted by Rule 17. (See section 3.2.1)

13/ It may be dispensed with altogether if we follow the procedure to exclude progressive <u>rah</u> outlined in the preceding section (3.3.1). However, section 3.4 introduces problems that require the negative test.

3.4 Allotactic sequences

While it is well known that strictly formal cri-
teria are not sufficient to determine the class of com-
pound verbs, only one or two writers have suggested that
they may even be unnecessary.[1] Just as there exist homo-
tactic sequences or verb-verb sequences formally congru-
ent to compound verbs that we must keep distinct from
them, so there exist allotactic or structurally diver-
gent sequences that on the basis of other distinctive
properties of compound verbs we may wish to include with
them.

3.4.1 Opaque conjunct sequences

Certain verb sequences appear to belong with
those described in section 3.2.1 on the basis of form:

a 1   mAI tumhaarii <u>bajaa kar rakh dUUgaa</u> +gpb

       i'll knock your block off

Yet their source is quite different. They cannot be de-
rived by Rule GT 4 from conjunctions of main verbs:

a 2   mAI tumhaarii <u>bajaaUUgaa aur rakh dUUgaa</u> *gpb

1/ Jelovkov 1963 and Van Olphen 1970. Jelovkov notes the
equivalence of <u>lauT aa</u> and <u>lauT kar aa</u> 'return'; p 92.
(he considers these to be vector sequences: <u>složnye
glagoly</u>. We class them with the factor sequences: see
section 3.2.5.). On Van Olphen see 3.4.1.fn 1.

On the basis of non-equivalences like these it has been
suggested that (kar) rakh de be included among the vec-
tor verbs.[1]

    Verb sequences like that of al differ in yet
other ways from their homotags as defined by Rule GT 4:
I. In conjunct sequences with undeleted kar the second
main verb may occur with any of the vector verbs that may
accompany it when alone in its own clause:

b 1   us ne ciTThii likhii aur rakh dii +bjpg

  2   likh kar rakh dii =bjpg

    he wrote a letter and put it down

c 1   us ne ciTThii likhii aur rakh lii +pgb

  2   likh kar rakh lii =pgb

    he wrote a letter and put it aside (for himself)

Sequences like that of al are frozen in this respect:

a 3   mAI tumhaarii bajaa kar rakh lUUgaa *bjpg

II. Vector sequences in (kar) rakh de are sensitive to
negation while homotactic sequences are not:

d 1   apnii dilcasp baatO se us ne sab ko hAsaayaa aur

  2   rakh diyaa *pgb   hAsaa kar rakh diyaa +bjpg

    with his delightful talk he had everybody in

    stitches[2]

1/ Van Olphen was the first to notice the inequivalence
   of kucal kar rakh diyaa 'ground to bits' and kuclaa
   aur rakh diyaa 'trampled and set down' and on the ba-
   sis of this to propose rakh de as a vector: pp 172-4.

2/ A new sentence set must be introduced here since any
   negative corresponding to al is semantically strange.

e   apnii dilcasp baatO se us ne sab ko

  1 2   hAsaa kar nahII rakhaa *gpb nahII hAsaayaa +gpb

          he didn't make everybody laugh with his amusing

          talk

f   us ne ciTThii likh kar nahII rakhii +pgb

          he didn't write (and leave) a letter (for us)

3.4.2 The rule of kar-Insertion

It may also happen that a sequence such as those
of al or d2 may have two meanings, one equivalent to a
vector sequence and one equivalent to a conjunction of
two main verbs:

a 1   us ne apne pati ko Saraabii banaa choRaa thaa +gip
                                         +tb

  2   banaa kar choR diyaa thaa =gitb Dp

       she made a drunkard out of her husband

b   us ne apne pati ko Saraabii banaayaa thaa aur

  1   choR diyaa thaa +giptb

  2   banaa kar choR diyaa thaa =giptb

       she made a drunkard out of her husband and then

       left him

The sentence a2-b2 has two meanings. In one a separation
is involved. In the other (a2) choR de expresses the
speaker's perception of the wife's act as wilful and
reckless. (Of course, given the rule of kar-Deletion,

we may derive a sentence b3 synonymous with b1-2 but
identical in form to sentence a1.)

In order to account for opaque conjunct sequences
like that of a2, we propose a Rule 71 'kar-Insertion'
which effects a change which is the mirror image of that
effected by Rule 17 'kar-Deletion'.

R 71: $X + V_1 + V_2 + \text{desinence}^1$ is replaced by

   $X + V_1 + \underline{\text{kar}} + V_2 + \text{least marked vector} + \text{desi-}$
   nence

To our knowledge among the vectors only choR permits the
application of this rule to sequences in which it takes
part. Sequences with vector (kar) rakh de in them are
not felt by speakers to be equivalent to the correspon-
ding sequences in rakh:

c   sikandar ne apnii bahaadrii se duSman ko

   1   hilaa kar rakh diyaa thaa +gpb (=an action: gb)

   2   hilaa rakhaa thaa *p   Dgb (=a state: gb)

        alexander made the enemy tremble with his valor

There are tense restrictions on rakh-sequences which do
not apply to (kar) rakh de-sequences:

d 1   mAI ne us kii pol khol kar rakh dii thii +gpb

   2   khol rakhii thii Dgp (pahle se)
                                          Db
   (1) 2 i had (completely) exposed him   (d2: + foresight)

1/ The rule of kar-Insertion as stated here is more a
   rule expressing equivalence relations than a rule
   usable in deriving surface structures from remote.

e 1   mAI us kii pol <u>khol kar rakh dUUgaa</u> +pgb

  2   <u>khol rakhUUgaa</u> *p Dgb (pahle se)

(1) 2 i'll expose him (completely)[2] (beforehand: +gb)

When asked to replace <u>(kar) rakh de</u>-sequences with some

other compound verb, speakers usually choose one in <u>de</u>:

f 1   mAI tumhaarii <u>bajaa kar rakh dUUgaa</u> +gpb

  2   <u>bajaa dUUgaa</u> =gpb (less emphatic: gp)

      i'll knock your block off

For these reasons we count <u>(kar) rakh de</u> as a separate

vector verb. Since it is not yet clear whether each and

every <u>(kar) choR de</u>-sequence is relatable to some <u>choR</u>-

sequence by Rule 71 or vice versa, we provisionally as-

sign <u>(kar) choR de</u> to the class of vectors as also an

individual member.

The remainder of the verb sequences whose deri-

vation appears to require a rule of <u>kar</u>-Insertion con-

tain either factor verbs[3] or main verbs permuted to the

V_2 position by successive applications of Rule 17 and

Rule 18.[4] The Rule of <u>kar</u>-Insertion fits Harris's con-

cept of 'inverse operation'.[5]

2/ 'completely' is often given by informants to render
the connotation expressed by vector <u>(kar) rakh de</u>.

3/ See section 3.2.5, footnote 2 and sentence set a3-4.

4/ See section 3.2.3, footnote 2 and sentence set a0-4.

5/ See Harris 1968, pp 95-99. In Harrisian terms the <u>kar</u>
of sentence a2 is not the trace of Rule GT 4 but of
Rule 17 analogic to Rule 17 · Rule GT 4.

3.4.3 Other allotactic sequences

By dropping as we have the requirement that what are to be defined as compound verbs adhere to certain formal restrictions, we are left with grammaticalization and sensitivity to negation as the two criteria on the basis of which we define the class of compound verbs. As a result it becomes necessary to consider a number of other verb-verb sequences.

I. Compound verbs with intervening -e as in

a   mAI botal khole detaa hUU +pgb

i'll open the bottle (right now)

or with intervening -@ as in

b   diiwaal girii jaatii hai +pb   *g[1]

the wall is about to fall down

must be reckoned as such on the basis of grammaticalization and their sensitivity to negation:

c 1   mAI botal nahII khole detaa (hUU) *pgb

  2   nahII kholUUgaa   +pgb

i won't open the bottle

d 1   diiwaal nahII girii jaatii (hai) *bgp

  2   nahII giregii +pgb

the wall will not fall down

1/ Speaker g finds paR to be the preferable vector with
   gir used in its intransitive sense (as here):
   a   diiwaal girii paRtii hai +g
   Speaker g accepts vector jaa with gir only when gir
   is being used as an anticausative: see 4.3.3.1.fn 8.

110

The relation of sequences like those of a and b to the compound verb system as a whole is discussed elsewhere.[2]

II. A very few verb-verb sequences where the main verb stem is augmented by -t@ as in

e yahAA se <u>calte bano</u> +bpg

  get out of here!

f raam kaa sankoc <u>jaataa rahaa</u> +dtpgb

  ram's ill-ease departed him

g nek log is duniyaa se <u>jaate rahe</u> (cu 1.431) +pgb

  virtuous people have disappeared from this world

are to be considered compound verbs:

h 1 yahAA se <u>calte mat bano</u> *gb +p Cg

 2 yahAA se <u>mat calo</u> +pg *b[3] do not leave here!

i 1 raam kaa sankoc <u>nahII jaataa rahaa</u> *pgb Cg

 2   <u>nahII gayaa</u> +pgb

  ram's ill-ease did not leave him

j 1 nek log is duniyaa se <u>nahII jaate rahe</u> *gb +p Cg

 2   <u>nahII gae</u> +pgb

  virtuous people have not disappeared from this

  world

The <u>rah</u> of the sequences in f and g is to be distin-guished from that of

k maal is bandar se <u>jaataa rahaa</u> +pgb

  the goods kept being dispatched from this port

which forms phasal expressions and is also sensitive to

_____

2/ See section 4.3.3.1. 3/ yahAA se <u>mat jaao</u> +bpg

negation:[4]

1   yuddh kii wajah se maal is bandar se <u>nahII jaa-</u>

       <u>taa rahaa</u> *pgb

       because of the war the goods did not continue

       to be dispatched from this port

       III. On the basis of grammaticalization and sensi-

tivity to negation verb-verb sequences in <u>lag</u> (which has

a homophonous correspondent among the main verbs: <u>lag</u>

'be attached, be engaged; appear') ought to be consi-

dered compound verbs:

m 1   paanii <u>barasne lagaa</u> +gpb

       it began to rain

n 1 2 paanii <u>nahII barasne lagaa</u> *pgb   <u>nahII barsaa</u> +pg
                                                               +b
   (3   <u>barasnaa Suruu nahII huaa</u> +pgb)

       it did not (begin to) rain

However, since <u>lag</u> itself may be described as a main

verb exhibiting simple:compound manifestation, we may

exclude it:[5]

o   aaxirkaar paanii barasne <u>lag gayaa</u> +pb   *g

p 1 2 acaanak paanii barasne <u>lag uThaa</u> +b *g <u>lag paRaa</u> +bp
                                             PJp   *g
o//p   it /finally//suddenly/ began to rain

_____

4/ <u>-t@ rah</u> as phasal is dealt with in 4.2.3, sets ag, ah.

5/ It will be recalled that <u>rakh de</u> as vector is a frozen
   form which alternates neither with <u>rakh</u> nor with <u>rakh</u>
   <u>le</u>, <u>rakh Daal</u>, etc. Although it may turn out that vec-
   tor <u>choR de</u> alternates with <u>choR</u>, it is clear that it
   does not do so under the conditions (negation:affirma-
   tion, etc.) that are usually associated with the al-
   ternation of simple and compound verbs. See 3.4.2.

IV. We know of one other proposal for identifying yet another class of verb sequences as allotags of vector verb sequences: Dwarikesh (1971) proposes three-verb compound verbs[6] on the basis of

q   "us ko pulis <u>pakaR le gaii</u>

the police arrested (i. e., having arrested him)

and took him to the police station"

However, as we show elsewhere[7] <u>le jaa</u> 'take away' is in modern Hindi a unit stem, and as such cannot be adduced to demonstrate the need for a category of three-verb compounds. In any case, the sequence in o is clearly an example of a conjunct sequence.[8]

V. There is one group of verb-verb sequences remaining which on the basis of the criteria we have developed so far ought to be classed with compound verbs:

r   mAI khaanaa <u>khaae hue thaa</u> +gpb

i had already eaten

The use of <u>ho</u> in p has no transparent relation to the meaning of the homophonous main verb <u>ho</u> 'become'. Furthermore, such sequences are sensitive to negation:

6/ Pp 271-3 and further at p 277.

7/ See fn 6 in section 3.5 and sentence g in section 4.4.2 Dwarikesh himself remarks on the singularity from the point of view of form of the sequence <u>le jaa le jaa kar</u> in his sentence 38, pp 70-1.

8/ His criteria for distinguishing the class of conjunct sequences are essentially circular. See Dwarikesh 1971, p 270, lines 16-8; p 271, top; and pp 108-12.

s 1   mAI khaanaa <u>nahII khaae hue thaa</u> *b Wg +p

  2   mAI ne khaanaa <u>nahII khaayaa thaa</u> +gpb

       i had not eaten

The correct characterization of such sequences with re-
spect to the category compound verb depends on the de-
termination of the semantic functions of the latter.[9]

    3.5 Idiomatic vector sequences

    Among the verb-verb sequences exemplified in sec-
tion 3.1.1 are a few in which neither element can be ac-
counted for by having recourse to any transformational
relation. The vectors in these, however, are privileged
to co-occur with such a small number of main verbs that
their treatment in a grammar is best effected by simply
listing them in a lexicon. We call the expressions that
are formed with such vectors 'idiomatic vector sequen-
ces':

a 1   yadi awlokan aage baRhaa to <u>kaaT khaaUUgaa</u> +ptgb

  2   <u>kaaT kar khaa lUUgaa</u> Dpgb   =t

  3   <u>khaa kaaTUUgaa</u> *ptgb

       if avalokan comes forward i'll tear him to pie-
       ces +tb

       if avalokan comes forward i'll bite him +pg *b

9/ See section 4.2.3, sentence af, for the exclusion of
   the sequence in r and sl.

   Idiomatic sequences like ordinary vector sequen-
ces, conjunct sequences and factor sequences are typi-
cally positive. However, whereas these others have nega-
tive correspondents, idiomatic sequences are often too
highly colored or semantically specific to be useful in
any form in negative statements:[1]

b   yadyapi awlokan aage baRhaa phir bhii

  1   <u>nahII kaaT khaaUUgaa</u> *at   Wg   Cp   +b

  2   <u>nahII khaaUUgaa</u> *pat   Dgb

  3   <u>nahII kaaTUUgaa</u> *patg   Db

  4   <u>kaaTUUgaa nahII</u> +gb[2]   OKp

c   kuch <u>nahII karUUgaa</u> +tgpb(best negative: +tgb)

b/c   even if avalokan does come forward i won't / tear

       him to pieces // bite him // do anything to him /

       One can sometimes make out the remains of a con-
junct sequence in idiomatic expressions of this sort:[3]

d 1   wo bhaaii ko dukaan se nae kapRe <u>liwaa laayaa</u> +bp

       he took his brother to the store and bought him

       new clothes

---

[1] Just as in English idiomatic phrases like 'beat to a
pulp', 'fresh as a daisy', 'drop dead', etc. are ra-
ther odd, to say the least, when negated, put into
questions, qualified by 'a little' or 'a lot' and so
on. Certain others may occur as idioms only when ne-
gated:
a   come here, we're not going to bite you!

[2] The order verb + negative of b4 is significantly one
that is associated in Hindi with affectual statements.

[3] Note speaker t's reaction to sentence a2 above.

In dl the causing (someone) to get (=<u>liwaa</u>) new clothes is obviously prior in time to bringing (=<u>laa</u>) him (or the clothes) back. However, this relation to a conjunct sequence is for some speakers a relic, not a living relation of equivalence that can be transformationally expressed:

d 2   wo bhaaii ko dukaan se nae kapRe <u>liwaa kar le</u>

      <u>aayaa</u> *b   =p[4]

      The idiomatic character of 'minor vectors' like <u>laa</u> in <u>bajaa laa</u> 'carry out, obey' is sometimes a reflection of idiosyncracy in their etymologies. In

e   ham raajaa kaa hukm <u>bajaa laae</u> +gb Oa   *p

      we carried out the king's order

the expression <u>bajaa laa</u> is a calque on the Persian expression <u>bajaa aawardaan</u>, literally, 'bring/make come true' where <u>bajaa</u> means 'right' or 'true' and <u>aawardaan</u> means 'bring' or 'cause to come'. In Hindi the loanword <u>bazaa/bajaa</u> has been reinterpreted as the stem of a verb <u>bajaanaa</u> 'to perform' (homophonous with <u>bajaanaa</u> 'to ring') on the basis <u>liwaa laa:liwaa::bajaa laa:bajaa</u>.

4/ It will be noticed that the status of an individual
   sequence may vary from speaker to speaker. Some find
   it relatable to other sequences in a perfectly regu-
   lar way; some find it isolated from them; some do not
   recognize its existence. Such variety is to be expec-
   ted when one looks at the fine grain of language. The
   categories that these grains compose, however, are
   general: if they do not exist for a given speaker on
   the basis of one sequence they will be found to on the
   basis of another. See speaker p's reaction to al-2.
   (al may also be read as a relic of a conjunct sequence)

This new stem <u>bajaa</u> now functions as the simple counter-
part of the compound verb <u>bajaa laa</u>:

f 1   ham ne raajaa kaa hukm <u>nahII bajaayaa</u> +pg   Ob

  2   ham raajaa kaa hukm <u>nahII bajaa laae</u> *pgb   Cg

      we didn't carry out the king's order

      Among idiomatic sequences must be counted a set
of expressions roughly synonymous and all containing <u>le</u>
as the 'main' or anterior element:

g 1   wo apnii harkatO se use <u>le Duubegaa</u> +bptg

h 1   <u>le biitegaa</u> +bp   *tg

i 1   <u>le baiThegaa</u> +btg   *p

j 1   <u>le maregaa</u> +bptg

      his wicked acts will prove to be the ruination

      of them both

<u>le</u> in these expressions seems to be functioning as a
postposition with a meaning somewhat like 'along with'.
Of course this function of <u>le</u> is well known in a much
more widely used set of expressions: <u>le aa</u> 'come along
with' (='bring') and <u>le jaa</u>, <u>le cal</u> 'go along with' (=
'take away'). But it is equally well-known that these
expressions alternate with conjunctive sequences in <u>kar</u>
and that their meanings are compatible with an inter-
pretation of <u>le</u> as a conjunctive particle in its pri-
mary meaning 'take':

k 1 2 wo saamaan <u>le aayaa</u> +bptg   <u>le kar aa gayaa</u> =bpt

      having taken the luggage he came

```
l 1 2   wo saamaan le gayaa +bptg   le kar calaa gayaa =pt
                                                        =b
m 1 2             le calaa +ptg⁵    le kar calaa gayaa =pt
                          +b                            =b
        having taken the luggage he went
```

However this equivalence relation does not hold for the

items in g, h, i and j:[6]

```
g 2     wo apnii harkatO se use le kar Duub jaaegaa *ptgb

h 2                             le kar biit jaaegaa *ptgb

i 2                             le kar baiTh jaaegaa *ptg
                                                    *b
j 2                             le kar mar jaaegaa *ptgb
```

having taken her with his wicked acts he will /

drown // pass on // sit down // die /

Thus the sequences in g1 through j1 must be counted as

idiomatic.

There is another type of idiomatic sequence in

which the vector is a common and productive one but with

a particular main verb forms an expression whose meaning

is either markedly different or more specific than that

of the main verb alone. maar, for instance, includes

among its many meanings that of 'strike' and 'kill'. In

vector sequences with Daal, however, its meaning be-

5/ Speaker g finds klm2 differ from klml with respect to
   the expression of the completion of activity. See 4.2.

6/ Nor does it hold for le jaa in every case:
   a   socaa ki ek rupyaa caar aanaa xarc kar ke kisii
       1 anjaan jagah par le jaayaa jaanaa +ptgb
       2   le kar jaayaa jaanaa *ptgb
       3   le kar calaa jaayaa jaanaa *ptgb
       apne mE buraa anubhaw nahII hai (act 77)
       i thought that to be taken to some unknown spot
       for only Rs 1.25 wouldn't be bad in itself

comes restricted to that of kill:

n   aSok ne apne beTe ko <u>maaraa</u> +gpb

        ashok beat his son: +gpb

        ashok killed his son: +gpb

o   aSok ne apne beTe ko <u>maar Daalaa</u> +gpb

        ashok killed his son: +gpb

        ashok beat his son: *gb +p

Idiomatic vector sequences of this type in the speech of some speakers cast what we might call 'shadows'. That is, the specific meaning associated with certain main verb + vector combinations renders their occurrence in the general meaning less likely. For example, <u>jaR</u> 'inlay', <u>lagaa</u> 'connect' and <u>maar</u> 'strike' are all three used with <u>tamaacaa</u> 'blow' in the sense of 'deliver':

p   ham baat kar rahe the aur isii biic mE aSok ne

1   us ke tiin tamaace <u>jaR diye</u> +pgb

2   <u>lagaa diye</u> +pgb

3   <u>maar diye</u> +pgb

      we were talking and while we were talking ashok

      punches him in the face three times!

Because of the idiomatic use of <u>maar Daal</u>, these three nearly synonymous expressions react differentially to co-occurrence with vector <u>Daal</u>:

q   ham baat kar rahe the aur isii biic mE aSok ne

1   us ke phaTaaphaT tiin tamaace <u>jaR Daale</u> +pgb

2   <u>lagaa Daale</u> +pgb

3   <u>maar Daale</u> *gb +p

we were talking and while we're talking ashok

punches him wham wham wham three times in the

face![7]

3.6 The class of major vector verbs in Hindi

Although our investigation of the syntactic rela-
tions informing and distinguishing the various types of
verb-verb sequences in Hindi ultimately leads to (and de-
pends upon) an examination of the functions of compound
verbs as expressions of grammatical and semantic cate-
gories, it will be useful to assume that examination and
present here a list of the major vector verbs in Hindi.
These as determined on the criteria of I. grammaticali-
zation, II. sensitivity to negation, and III. generality
(the item occurs with more than five different main
verbs) include the following twenty-four items: <u>aa</u>, <u>uTh</u>,
<u>khaR@ ho</u>, <u>cal</u>, <u>cuk</u>, <u>choR</u>, <u>choR de</u>,[1] <u>jaa</u>, <u>Daal</u>, <u>de</u>, <u>dhar</u>,
<u>nikal</u>, <u>nikaal</u>, <u>paR</u>, <u>paa</u>,[2] <u>baiTh</u>, <u>mar</u>, <u>maar</u>, <u>rakh</u>, <u>rakh</u>

7/ For further remarks on idiomatic vector sequences see
   Van Olphen (1970)'s remarks on 'conventional compound
   verbs', pp 170-1.

1/ Occurring with main verbs followed by <u>kar</u>. See 3.4.2.

2/ Better termed an 'anti-vector'. See section 3.2.6.

<u>de</u>,[3] <u>rah</u>, <u>le</u>, <u>le jaa</u>, <u>sak</u>.[2]

     Since some of these items are typical of extreme-
ly informal or uneducated or dialectal speech or are
simply of rare occurrence, the reader may never have en-
countered them in written Hindi. In the pages which fol-
low, we furnish examples of[4] and remarks about the con-
notations and the social and geographical distribution
of those vectors which are less well-established in the
grammatical literature of Hindi.[5]

     3.6.1 Unusual vector verbs: <u>khaR@ ho</u> 'stand up'

a   pistaul kii aawaaz sunte hii wo <u>dauR khaRaa huaa</u>

       +bjg   ?p

       as soon as he heard the pistol shot he took off

b   ched ho jaane kii wajah se naaw dekhte dekhte

       <u>Duub khaRii huii</u> +b   *jpg

       with a hole in it the boat sank out of sight

       right before our eyes

c   tiilii lagte hii naaylaan kii saaRii <u>jal khaRii</u>

       <u>hogii</u> +jb Og   *p

---

[3] Occurs after main verb stem plus <u>kar</u>. See 3.4.1.

[2] Most of the examples in 3.6.1-13 were given to me by
Mr. Bharat Mohan Kukreti of Dehra Dun (speaker 'b').

[4] For remarks on the more common vector verbs, see es-
pecially Hacker 1958 and Van Olphen 1970, pp 148-79.
Bahl 1964 and Bahl 1967 provide copious examples.

c   just strike a match to it and a nylon sari will
     burn up in a flash

d   mere manaa karne par bhii wo saaraa saamaan
     mere yahAA rakh khaRaa huaa +b   ?p   *jg
     even after i tell him not to he blithely leaves
     his stuff at my place!

e   paTaaxO kii aawaaz se wo hamE jagaa khaRaa huaa
     +b   *jpg
     he woke us up with firecrackers (and left)

f   mAI bekaar mE hii xaraab duudh mE baadaam Daal
     khaRaa huaa +b   Vp   *g
     i had to go and put the almonds in (what turned
     out to be) bad milk

g   biic baazaar mE do logO ko maar khaRaa huaa +bg
     ?p   *j
     in the middle of the bazaar he slugged two guys
     (and took off: +bp   *g)

h   wo aksar logO se bebaat ke laR khaRaa hotaa hai
     +bg   ?p
     he often gets into fights with people for no good
     reason

     khaR@ ho always implies suddenness. It often im-
plies the disappearance of the agent either via (abc) or
(for speaker b at least) after (deg) the performance of the
action expressed by the main verb. Like vector baiTh it

connotes the speaker's regret or consternation concerning the occurrence of an event or action. (However, the more common or 'literary' sequences with main verbs bhaag, dauR, nikal, cal, uTh seem to be exceptions to this.) It is worth noting that among the non-literary sequences khaR@ ho with verbs of fighting (gh) is acceptable to a larger circle of speakers. Beskrovnyj 1964[1] has found a sequence of this type:

i   koii duusraa laRkaa itnii maar khaa kar bigaR
        khaRaa hotaa...magar becaaraa pacaasO juute khaa
        kar bhii kuch na bolaa (godaan 265?) +gpb
        another fellow after being beaten so much as this
        would have lost his temper...but the poor guy
        took the pummeling of dozens of shoes without
        saying a word (cited in Beskrovnyj 1964, p 59)

These three (ghi) are reminiscent of the English

j   he up and hit him

        Use of khaR@ ho as vector appears to be typical
of village speech. Speakers influenced by Panjabi sometimes substitute a root khaR 'stand up':

k 1   kutte kii aawaaz sunte hii baccaa ro khaRegaa +j
        *bpg
        as soon as he hears the dog the child will burst
        into tears

1/ As Beskrovnyj notes, credit for first identifying khaR@ ho as a vector verb goes to Davidova 1958, p 229.

For other speakers there is a restriction on the tenses
in which khaR@ ho-sequences may occur:

k   kutte kii aawaaz sunte hii baccaa

  2 3   <u>ro khaRaa huaa</u> +gpb   <u>ro khaRaa hogaa</u> *g OKp +b

        as soon as he / heard // hears./ the dog the

        child / burst // will burst / into tears

        3.6.2 Unusual vector verbs: <u>choR</u> 'leave behind'

a   tum ne us mE kyaa <u>paa choRaa</u> jo us ke piiche

        lage rahte ho +b   PJ?p   *?g

        what do you see in him that you should always

        be hanging around him?

b   kyaa tum ne <u>bol choRaa hai</u> ki wo yahAA aaTh baje

        awaSy pahUc jaae +b   Opg

        did you tell him that he must be here by eight?

c   bekaar hii mE tum ne use baRaa aadmii <u>maan cho-</u>

        <u>Raa hai</u> +b   Og   *p   us ke kaary niic aad-

        miyO jaise hAI

        you were wrong to consider him a great man, he

        does low things

d   mAI ne is kitaab kii sab guuRh baatE <u>samajh</u>

        <u>choRII</u> +bg   *p

        i have figured out all the deep things in this

        book (sarcasm: +g)

e   mAI ne bastii ke saare logO ko <u>sudhaar choRne</u>

       kii kasam khaaii hai +bg   *p

       i have sworn to improve the lot of everyone in

       the bustee

f   mele mE us ne pars <u>kho choRaa</u> +bp   *Sg

       she lost her purse at the fair

       The connotation seems often to be one of pejora-
tion (abcdf). The sequence in f is of central importance
in an attempt to account for the proliferation of com-
pounding with a given vector: <u>kho choR</u> is an example
of 'sub-synonymy' where <u>choR</u> as a main verb is close to
or includes among its meanings that of <u>kho</u> 'lose'. Other
examples of such 'semantic support':[1]

g   mAI ne khaane kaa intazaam us par <u>sAUp choRaa</u>

       <u>thaa</u> +bp   OKg

       i left the meal arrangements up to him to make

h   tum ne jue mE itne paise kyO <u>haar choRe</u> jo ab

       mujh se bhiikh mAAgne aae ho +b   *pg

       why did you lose so much at gambling that now

       you come begging to me

       Speaker p feels that except in a few cases the use
of <u>choR</u> as vector verb is due to the linguistic inter-
ference of Panjabi. Speaker g feels it to be typical of
colonial Hindi (<u>saahabii hindii</u>).

---

[1] For more on this see sections 3.6.6 and 3.6.7.

3.6.3 Unusual vector verbs: choR de 'leave behind'

a 1   mAI ne is kitaab kii sab guuRh baatE samajh kar

choR dII +g   Kp *b (see 3.6.2.d)

i have figured out all the deep things in this

book (sarcasm: +g)

b 1   sikandar ne apnii bahaadrii se duSman ko mazaa

cakhaa kar choR diyaa +g   Kp   *b

with his valor alexander taught the enemy a good

lesson

c 1   tum ne in baccO ko rulaa kar choR diyaa, ab XuS

ho +gpb

you've left these children in tears, are you sa-

tisfied?

d 1   mAI ne is maamle ko suljhaa kar choR diyaa +gb Kp

i have managed to straighten out this affair

e 1   tum ne us kii puurii zaaydaad miTaa kar choR dii

+gp   *b

you've run through his entire inheritance

f 1   jab tak pulis pahUcii tab tak mAI ne us kii

bajaa kar choR dii +gp   *b

by the time the police got there i'd really

worked him over

(kar) choR de, like (kar) rakh de, seems to be es-

pecially adapted to idiomatic expressions in the sense

of 'really' or 'completely (doing something)'. It is
replaceable by the latter:

a 2   ...sab guuRh baatE <u>samajh kar rakh dII</u> +g   *pb

b 2   ...mazaa <u>cakhaa kar rakh diyaa</u> +gpb

c 2   ...baccO ko <u>rulaa kar rakh diyaa</u> +gpb

d 2   ...maamle ko <u>suljhaa kar rakh diyaa</u> +gpb

e 2   ...us kii puurii zaaydaad <u>miTaa kar rakh dii</u> +gp
                                                        *b

f 2   ...mAI ne us kii <u>bajaa kar rakh dii</u> +gpb

The connotation of <u>choR de</u>, however, seems to be marked-
ly pejorative in comparison to that of <u>rakh de</u>.[1]

3.6.4 Unusual vector verbs: <u>de</u> 'give'

<u>de</u> is anything but unusual as a vector verb. What
follow here are remarks on uses of vector <u>de</u> unnoticed
in linguistic literature.

Some speakers are able to use <u>de</u> with reflexives
(those transitive verbs whose least marked compound cor-
respondent is formed with vector <u>le</u> or vector <u>jaa</u>) in
the meaning of 'show (someone else that...)':

a   us ne yah tang kapRaa <u>pahn diyaa</u> +jg   *pb

       (he showed us that) he could get into this tight
       piece of clothing

b   jaan ne das gilaas paanii <u>pii diye</u> +jg   *p   Pb

       john showed he could drink ten glasses of water

1/ For the relation of <u>choR de</u> to <u>choR</u> see sect. 3.4.2.

c   tum yah niwaalaa <u>nigal do</u> +jg *p   Pb

swallow that morsel for us (show us that you can

do it)

d   par piye na hotaa to ghar to <u>pahcaan detaa</u> +gpb

if i weren't drunk i'd show you i can pick out

my house (from all the others) (sm 82)

<u>de</u> may be used with verbs of motion if a certain

degree of vehemence is to be implied (this does not ap-

ply to the conventional compound <u>cal de</u> 'set out,

start'):[1]

e   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak wo apne ghar se

<u>nikal diyaa thaa</u> +b   PJg   OKp

by the time i got there he'd come out of his

house (to confront me)

f   tum ghar mE zabardastii <u>ghus do</u> warnaa maar paRe-

gii +b   Delhi?: +g *p

you push your way into the place or you'll get it!

g   mujhe Dar hai kahII baaz pakSii par <u>jhapaT na de</u>

+b   OKp *g

i'm afraid the hawk might pounce on the bird[2]

Finally, for speakers influenced by <u>pahaaRii</u> dia-

lects <u>de</u> may occur with nearly any intransitive (or re-

flexive transitive) as simply an alternate to <u>jaa</u> (or

1/ For discussion of conventional compounds see 3.5.

2/ For other <u>de</u>-sequences of this type see 3.2.2.<u>de</u>.2
   and 3.2.2.<u>de</u>.b.2.

1e):

h   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak raam kaa kaam

        <u>ban diyaa thaa</u> Pb   *gp

        by the time i got there ram had gotten what he

        wanted (it had been done)

i   mujhe Dar hai kahII baariS <u>band ho na de</u> Pb ?p *g

        i'm afraid the rain might stop

j   mAI caahtaa hUU ki wo yah baat <u>samajh de</u> Pb   *gp

        i want him to understand this

        3.6.5 Unusual vector verbs: <u>dhar</u> 'put; throw;

            keep'

a   mere Trak mE itnaa saamaan <u>laad dharaa</u> ki us kaa

        calnaa hii muSkil ho gayaa +b   Og   Vp

        he loaded so much stuff onto my truck that it

        was hard for it to move even

b   mAI ne ek jhaTke mE us kii gardan <u>moR dharii</u> +b

        Vp   *g

        giving a wrench i twisted its neck

c   kapRe ke daaG saabun se <u>miTaa dhare</u> +b   *pg

        he got the stains out of the cloth with soap

d   manaa karne par bhii us ne aaTe mE kankaR <u>milaa</u>

        <u>dhare</u> +b   Vp   *g

d   even though he was told not to, he mixed stones in with the flour

e   yah saamaan yahAA kis ne <u>rakh dharaa hai</u> +bj Vp

who put this stuff here?

<u>dhar</u> 'put; throw; grab; keep' is typical of village speech. The connotations of rusticity it holds for educated speakers are strong enough to make some of them nervous.[1]

3.6.6 Unusual vector verbs: <u>nikal</u> 'go out; come out; turn out'

a   haize kii bimaarii se raam <u>bac niklaa</u> +bag ?p

ram survived a bout with cholera

b 1 naii pustak <u>chap niklii</u> +bp OKg

a new book came out

c 1 baat-ciit mE aur bhii kaii prasang <u>chiR nikle</u>

+bp *g

a number of other subjects came up in the course of the conversation

d 1 aawaaraa-gardii mE us kii zindagii <u>kaT niklii</u>

+b Og *p (-lekin tumhaarii nahII kaTegii +t)

his life passed in idleness (but yours won't)

e 1 is ek dawaa se hii hamaare kaii rog <u>naST ho nikle</u>

+ba ?p *g

1/ For <u>dhar</u> with intransitive main verbs see 3.2.2.fn 6.

e   with this single drug many of our diseases have

         been eradicated

The phenomenon of sub-synonymy[1] is of great importance

in the account of the co-occurrence of vector <u>nikal</u> and

main verbs:

b 2 3 naii pustak <u>chap gaii</u> +bpg   <u>nikal gaii</u> +bp Og

       a new book came out

c 2 3 ...kaii prasang <u>chiR gae</u> +bpg   <u>nikal gae</u> +bpg

       ...a number of subjects came up...

d 2 3 ...zindagii <u>kaT gaii</u> +bptg   <u>nikal gaii</u> +bptg

       ...life passed...

e 2 3 ...kaii rog <u>naST ho gae</u> +bapg <u>nikal gae</u> +bp *ga

       ...many diseases have been eradicated

In accordance with the two semantically opposed ranges

of meaning of main verb <u>nikal</u>; i. e., 'come out; appear'

and 'go out; disappear', it is possible to divide the

main verbs with which sub-synonymous <u>nikal</u> appears in a

similar fashion: in b and c, those of appearance (<u>chap</u>,

<u>chiR</u>); and, in d and e, those of disappearance (<u>kaT</u>,

1/ See remarks on this phenomenon above in 3.6.2 and be-
low in 3.6.7. The distinction between sub-synonymic
sequences and factor verb sequences (section 3.2.5)
is not very critical nor incontrovertible depending
as it does only on the latter's expressing actual
physical movement and the inability of the former to
undergo Rule 18 ("Reversal": see section 3.2.2). Both
sub-synonymic sequences and factor verb sequences may
be regarded as sequences of main verb and partially
grammaticalized (as opposed to fully grammaticalized
vector) element.

naST ho).

Although they are not paralleled by equivalents having <u>nikal</u> as main verb, the vector sequences in the following appear to be supported by main verb <u>nikal</u> in its meaning 'turn out (to be)':[2]

f   raam bahut catur <u>niklaa</u>

       ram turned out to be very clever

g   laRkaa xaraab sangatii mE rah kar <u>bigaR niklaa</u>

       <u>hai</u> +bp   *ag

       the boy has gone bad from staying in bad company

h   acchii sangatii mE rah kar laRkaa <u>sudhar niklaa</u>

       <u>hai</u> +b   OKp   *ag

       the boy has turned out well from keeping good company

i   Taal mE dewdaar kii lakRiyAA <u>siijh niklII</u> +bp *ag

       the deodar lumber seasoned in its stacks

j   peR par saare aam <u>pak nikle</u> +bp *ag

       the mangoes ripened on the tree

k   dhone ke baad kapRaa <u>ghaT niklaa</u> +bp   *g

       the cloth turned out to be less after being washed

For some speakers there are uses of <u>nikal</u> that extend far beyond what one might predict on the bases of sub-synonymy or semantic support: I. with verbs of speaking:

2/ Bahl 1967 discusses the semantics of main verb <u>nikal</u>: pp 330-4.

1   mAI Saraab ke naSe mE unhE na jaane kyaa kyaa

     <u>kah niklaa</u> +b   OKp   *ag

     god knows what i said to them while i was drunk

m   hamaare badmaaS chaatr bekaar ke sawaal <u>puuch</u>

     <u>nikalte hAI</u> +b   *apg

     our rascally students ask useless questions[3]

n   mahfil mE wo na jaane kis suur mE <u>gaa niklaa</u> +bg

     OKp

     lord only knows what key that was he sang in at

     the mahfil

II. with verbs denoting sudden and startling appearance
of sound or light:

o   gwaalaa raat ko baarah baje xaalii bartan <u>khaR-</u>

     <u>khaRaa niklaa</u> +b   *apg

     the milkman raised a clatter with his empties

     in the night

p   ain mauqe par mere nae juute <u>carmaraa nikle</u> +bpg

     my new shoes gave a squeak at the worst possible

     moment

q   braaso lagaa kar us kii talwaar <u>camak niklii</u> +bpg

     after being polished with brasso his sword spar-

     kled

3/ It is intriguing to note a number of English equiva-
   lents in which an item parallel to the Hindi vector
   is employed to show the manner of performance while
   the nature of the action itself is to be inferred:
   a   god knows what i <u>came out</u> with while i was drunk
   b   our wiseacre students <u>come out</u> with such useless
      questions

III. with verbs denoting outbursts of feeling:[4]

r   mujhe dekhte hii us kii dabii huii bhaawnaaE

       ubal niklII +bp   Og

       as soon as he saw me his repressed feelings

       boiled over

s   gaaliyAA sunte hii wo bhannaa niklaa +b OKp Og

       hearing himself cursed he went into a rage

IV. with any verb in the connotation 'with great ease':

t   raam ek kSaN mE yah praSn hal kar niklaa +b ?p *g

       ram solved this problem in an instant

This connotation of ease contrasts with that of vector

nikaal:[5]

u   socne samajhne ke baad raam ne yah praSn hal

  1   kar nikaalaa +bp   *g

       socne samajhne ke baad raam yah praSn hal kar

  2   niklaa *bpg

       ram solved this problem after giving it some

       (hard) thought

4/ In groups I, II and III the nikal-sequences seem to overlap those formed with vector uTh. See the examples of the latter in Bahl 1967, pp 417-29. The lack of voluntary control in actions and the perceptual strikingness of events described by the sequences in groups I, II and III above is characteristic of uTh-sequences. See discussion in Hacker 1958, pp 222-6. Neither he nor Van Olphen 1970, pp 167-8, seems to have captured the essence of vector uTh.

5/ See section 3.6.7. Speaker b finds that the expression of an action with a nikal-sequence sometimes implies that it was performed secretly, without the consent or knowledge of some third party.

3.6.7 Unusual vector verbs: <u>nikaal</u> 'take out'

a 1   pal bhar mE unhO ne do praSn <u>hal kar nikaale</u> +bp

       in an instant he solved two questions[1]

b   us ne apnaa haath <u>baRhaa nikaalaa</u> +bp   *g

       he held out his hand

c   unhO ne madad de kar apne riStedaarO ko is zin-

       dagii se <u>ubhaar nikaalaa</u> +bp   *g

       by giving his relatives help he raised them up

       from this kind of life

d 1   waigyaanik anusandhaan se ajiib ajiib padaarth

       <u>ugaa nikaalte hAI</u> +bp   *g

       through research scientists are able to come up

       with many strange and wonderful things

e   us ne khaad se phuul <u>ugaa nikaale</u> +bp   *g

       he brought up the flowers by using manure

f   mAI ne raam ko Saraab piite hue <u>DhUURh nikaalaa</u>

       +bpg

       i found ram when he was drinking

g 1   raajaa ne nayaa qaanuun <u>jaarii kar nikaalaa</u> +bp

       the king brought out a new law

h 1   aawaaraa-gardii mE us ne zindagii <u>kaaT nikaalii</u>

       +btgp   he passed his life in idleness

1/ This sentence may appear to contradict what was said
about sentence set u in 3.6.6. However, the contras-
tive condition set forth there restricts the occur-
rence of vector <u>nikal</u>, not that of vector <u>nikaal</u>.

Many of the examples of nikaal-sequencmy may be accoun-
ted for by the concept of sub-synonymy or semantic sup-
port:[2] nikaal as main verb has a general range of mean-
ing that includes the more specific ones of the main
verbs with which nikaal as vector may occur:

a 2 3   ...unhO ne do praSn hal kiye +bgp   nikaale +b *gp

d 2   waigyaanik...padaarth ugaate hAI +pgb

  3   nikaalte hAI +pgb

g 2   raajaa ne nayaa qaanuun jaarii kiyaa +bpg

  3   nikaalaa +bpg

h 2   aawaaraa-gardii mE us ne zindagii kaaT dii +bptg

  3   nikaal dii +bptg

    The use of nikaal appears to connote success-
fully overcoming some difficulty, resistance or unlike-
lihood. Speakers do not associate it with any particu-
lar dialect either social or geographical.

3.6.8 Unusual vector verbs: mar 'die'

a   jaa! khaa mar! +dpgb   (uneducated: g)
        go! eat up! (an impatient mother finally giving
        in to her insistent child)

b   kyaa ban mare ho +b   Og
        what kind of a person have you turned into?

2/ See sections 3.6.5, 3.6.6 and 3.2.4.fn 3.

c   aaxirkaar tum apnii aadatO ke gulaam <u>ban mare</u>

      +b   OKp   Og

      finally you have ended up the slave of your habits

d   mere piiche kyO <u>ho mare</u> +b   OKp   Og

      why the hell are you tagging after me?

e   hamaare na caahte hue bhii wo wahAA <u>baiTh maraa</u>

      +b   OKp   Og

      even though we didn't want him to, he had to go and sit down there

f   hamE dekhte hii <u>bhUUk martaa hai</u> +b   Og   *p

      as soon as he sees us (the damn dog) starts barking

g   tum us kii sallaah kyO <u>maan mare</u> +b   Og   ?p

      why the hell did you have to take his advice?

h   hamaaraa jaasuus SatruO ke paas jaa kar ek laakh

      mE <u>bik maraa</u> +bp   Og

      our agent (damn him) sold out to the enemy for a hundred thousand

      <u>mar</u> implies extreme disapproval and contempt on the speaker's part. Its use usually implies the speaker is either uneducated or very crude in his relations with others. It collocates poorly with <u>aap</u>:

i   jaaiye, <u>khaa mariye</u>! *gb +p (sarcasm: p)

      go, feed your face (please)!

3.6.9 Unusual vector verbs: <u>maar</u> 'strike; kill'

a us ne DaNDe se maar kar darwaazaa <u>khol maaraa</u>
   +b Op Delhi:g
   he knocked the door open with a stick

b 1 unhO ne saaraa din gappO mE <u>bitaa maaraa</u> +bp
   they killed the whole day chatting

c use jel mE <u>band kar maaraa</u> +bp Delhi:g
   they locked him up in jail

d das miil kii dauR lagwaa kar sipaahiyO ko
   <u>thakaa maaraa thaa</u> +bp Delhi:g
   he exhausted the troops by having them made to
   run ten miles

e us ne saare kaaGaz <u>jalaa maare</u> +b Delhi:g *p
   he burned up all the papers

f 1 baccO ko bhuutpret kii kahaanii sunaa kar <u>Daraa</u>
   <u>maaraa</u> +bp Delhi:g
   telling the kids a ghost story he frightened
   them to death

g mohan ne apne laRke ko <u>DAAT maaraa</u> jis se wo
   aage Galtii na kare +b Delhi:g *p
   mohan scolded the boy so that he wouldn't make
   a mistake ever again

   A synonym of vector <u>Daal</u> (but a bit more extreme
in its connotations: p), vector <u>maar</u> differs from it in

its ability to occur in reverse vector sequences:[1]

h 1   unhO ne saaraa din gappO me <u>bitaa Daalaa</u> +gpb

  2   <u>Daal bitaayaa</u> *gpb

b 2   <u>maar bitaayaa</u> +bp *g

      they killed the whole day chatting

      Some speakers find the use of <u>maar</u> as vector
typical of a certain <u>phakkaRpan</u> or <u>faaqaamastii</u> 'care-
free, insouciant, unrestrained manner' characteristic
of adolescent speakers but independent of social sta-
tus: +ap. Others find the use of <u>maar</u> typical of Delhi:
+g.[2]

3.6.10 Unusual vector verbs: <u>rakh</u> 'put, keep'

a   gaaRii mE gaRbaR <u>ho rakhii hai</u> +b   *jgp

      something's gone wrong with the car

b   un kii Tiim hamaarii Tiim se burii tarah <u>haar</u>

      <u>rakhii hai</u> +bj   *gp

      his team has lost badly to ours

c   ThaND mE wo ek kone mE <u>simaT rakhaa thaa</u> +bj *gp

      he was huddling in a corner in the cold

---

[1] But not every <u>maar</u>-sequence is subject to reversal:
    a   baccO ko bhuutpret kii kahaanii sunaa kar <u>maar</u>
         <u>Daraayaa</u> *bg ?p (see f1 above for gloss)
  For discussion of reversed vector sequences see 3.2.2.

[2] Van Olphen notes that 'carelessness' may be connoted:
  p 162. He suggests that <u>maar</u> may occur with intransi-
tive main verbs but provides no examples: p 168. For
Bahl on maar-sequences see above, section 3.2.2.fn8.

d   mAI (ne *b) apne makaan kaa raastaa <u>bhuul</u>

      <u>rakhaa hUU</u> +b   *jgp

      i have forgotten the way home

e   aag <u>bujh rakhii thii</u> aur mAI ThaND mE ThiThur

      rahaa thaa +b   *jgp

      the fire was out and i was shivering in the cold

f   jaasuus duSmanO ke haath <u>bik rakhaa thaa</u> +bj

      OKp   *g

      the spy had sold himself to the enemy

g   us kii kamiiz piiche se <u>phaT rakhii thii</u> +bj

      PJp   *g

      his shirt was torn from the back

h   kyaa tum ne yah <u>caah rakhaa thaa</u> ki mAI bhikh-

      mAgaa ban jaaUU +bp   *g

      were you hoping i'd become a beggar?

It has as far as we know never been noticed in print that vector <u>rakh</u> occurs (in the speech of speakers from certain areas) with intransitive main verbs (abcefg). These areas lie along the northwest sector of the Hindi-speaking portion of India.[1]

Bahl 1967 identifies the function of vector <u>rakh</u> with that of -<u>y@ hu@</u>.[2] Equivalent to fl is f2:

[1] <u>rakh</u> with intransitives was first noticed in the speech of Mr. Kukreti who was overheard uttering sentence a. A visit to Dehra Dun confirmed the pattern as being typical of speakers there.

[2] Pp. 446-9.

f 2   jaasuus duSmanO ke haath <u>bikaa huaa thaa</u> =pb +g

Speakers sometimes accept what appear to be conflations

of these two constructions:

f 3   jaasuus duSmanO ke haath <u>bikaa rakhaa thaa</u> +pg *b

   4   <u>bikaa huaa rakhaa thaa</u> +p *gb (f3 = f2: +g)

although the meaning is somewhat different:

f 3 4 the spy was sure to sell himself to the enemy: +p

Speakers who do not accept <u>rakh</u> with intransitive stems

often accept it with them in the pattern of f3:

a 2   gaaRii mE gaRbaR <u>huii rakhii hai</u> +p   *gb

c 2   ThaND mE wo ek kone mE <u>simTaa rakhaa thaa</u> +g   OKp
                                                            *b

e 2   aag <u>bujhii rakhii thii</u> aur... +pg   *b

g 2   us kii kamiiz piiche se <u>phaTii rakhii thii</u> +pg *b

       3.6.11 Unusual vector verbs: <u>rakh de</u> 'put down'

a   apnii dilcasp baatO se us ne sab ko <u>hAsaa kar</u>

       <u>rakh diyaa</u> +bjpg

       with his delightful talk he had everyone in

       stitches

b   mAI ne us kii pol <u>khol kar rakh dii</u> +bjgp

       i / exposed him // showed him for what he was /

c   kaayde aazam kii purzoS taqriirO ne qaum kii taq-

       diir <u>badal kar rakh diyaa</u> +bjgp

       with his firey oratory jinnah changed the fate

d   tumhaare baarah <u>bajaa kar rakh dUUgaa</u> +pgb

        i'll fix your wagon

e   biRlaa ne GariibO mE apnii daulat <u>bahaa kar rakh</u>

        <u>dii</u> +bgj   *p

        birla showered his wealth on the poor

f   nehruu jii ne hindustaan kii qismat <u>banaa kar</u>

        <u>rakh dii</u> +bgp

        nehru moulded the destiny of india

g   tum ne apnii harkatO se apne khaandaan kaa naam

        <u>miTaa kar rakh diyaa</u> +bjgp

        you with your misdeeds have blotted out the good

        name of your family

        Expressing the irreversability of the action ex-

pressed by the main verb, <u>rakh de</u> is used in sometimes

flowery but always vigorous idiomatic expressions.[1]

        3.6.12 Unusual vector verbs: <u>rah</u> 'remain, stay'

a   caliye, aap thoRii der <u>leT rahiye</u> +gp   *b

        why don't you go ahead and lie down for awhile

b   sirf thoRe se paise <u>bac rahe</u> (pcr 106) +gp *b

        only a few pice were left over

c   mAI jab yah baat soctaa hUU to hat buddhii <u>ho</u>

        <u>rahtaa hUU</u> +pb   *g

        when i consider this matter i lose my wits

---

[1]/ Vector <u>rakh de</u> is discussed above at 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.

d   harbans kii pathraaii sii AAkhE us ke cehre par

sthir <u>ho rahII</u> (abk 135) +gpb

harbans' somewhat glazed eyes became fixed on

her face

e   jaa kar kapRe badal lo aur <u>so raho</u> (abk 135) +gp
                                                  *b

go change your clothes and go to sleep

f   wo apne ghar se nikal kar...ek path ke kinaare

kaahii ke wistar par <u>baiTh rahtaa hai</u>[1] +gb ?p

leaving the house he goes and sits down on a

mossy carpet by the edge of the road

<u>rah</u> is a synonym of vector <u>jaa</u>. The reply to the

command in e is:

g   jab nIId aaegii tab <u>so jaaUUgii</u> (abk 135) +pb

i'll go to sleep when i feel like it

However, <u>rah</u> is much more restricted in its occurrences

than <u>jaa</u>. It does not occur with transitive main verbs

while <u>jaa</u> often does.

Every case we have seen of the use of vector <u>rah</u>

involves a change with an ensuing fixity of state: in d

Harbans' eyes come to rest and then <u>remain</u> fixed on his

wife's face. <u>rah</u>-sequences are semantically very much

akin to conjunct sequences. However, the corresponding

sequences with undeleted <u>kar</u> have a quite different

meaning:

<u>1</u>/ This sentence is quoted by Pořízka 1967 (p 220) from
    Vatsyayan's <u>Sekhar: ek jiiwanii</u>.

h   ...ek path ke kinaare kaahii ke wistar par

baiTh kar rah jaataa hai ≠f: +gp *b

...all he can do is to sit down (and remain sit-

ting) helplessly on the mossy carpet by the edge

of the path +gp

when they exist at all:

i   jaa kar kapRe badal lo aur so kar rah jaao *gpb

(compare sentence e)

Vector rah should be kept distinct from progres-

sive rah@ h-.[2]

3.6.13 Unusual vector verbs: le jaa 'take away'

a   jitnaa bhii muSkil kaam kyO na ho wo kar le jaa-

egaa +bpg

no matter how hard the job may be he'll carry

it out

b   apnii suriilii waaNii se wo saarii mahfil ko

rijhaa le gaii +bpg

she captivated the audience with her sweet voice

c   DaakTar mariiz ko khatre se bacaa le gayaa +bg ?p

the doctor got his patient out of danger

2/ See sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. Bahl 1967, pp 329ff,
mixes the two functions of grammaticalized rah (see
also pp 233-5 and pp 402-12). Van Olphen criticizes
Bahl on this point: Van Olphen 1971, p 21, fn 12.

d   wo apnii duukaan <u>calaa le gaii</u> +bpg

       she (ultimately) made a success out of her store

e   pareSaanii ke baawjuud bhii wo apne ghoRe ko

       <u>saadh le gayaa</u> +bpg

       in spite of panicking he got his horse under

       control +bp

       in spite of panicking he kept his horse from

       falling +g

f   agar tum log samai se kaaryawaahii nahII karte

       to yah niScit hai ki wo strii jo ciiz caahtii

       hai wo <u>kar le jaaegii</u> (nak 66) +gpb

       if you don't do something about it in time one

       thing is for sure: that woman will get away with

       anything she wants

       <u>le jaa</u> focuses attention on the successful per-

formance of a rather difficult action. A <u>le jaa</u>-sequence

that finds a place in lexicons is <u>nikaal le jaa</u>:

g   raam is koT se jaaRaa <u>nikaal le gayaa</u> +stgb *dp

       ram / got through the winter with this coat //

       made this coat last out the winter / (mhk vol 3)

Use of vector <u>le jaa</u> while not common[1] has no social or

geographical implications.

1/ In the literature we find only one mention of <u>le jaa</u>
   as a vector verb: Bahl 1964, p 204. Bahl evidently
   thought better of it since <u>le jaa</u> is absent from the
   list of 'explicators' (=vectors) in Bahl 1967. Bahl
   1964 gives 13 examples of <u>le jaa</u> sequences: appendix
   II, p 8. Only one (which we quote in section 3.1.1)

Section Four: The Functions of the Compound Verb

Although quite a bit of attention has been paid

to the functions of a compound verb in contrast to ano-

ther corresponding compound verb (for example, of

a   aadmii ne paise _rakh diye_ +gpb

        the man put the money(on the table, etc.)

in opposition to

b   aadmii ne paise _rakh liye_ +gpb

        the man kept the money)[1]

1/ These two contrasting sentences are discussed in Van
   Olphen 1970, p 164. Other writers who have discussed
   the contrasts between members of pairs of compound
   verbs which differ only in their vector components
   at some length include Hacker 1958, Guru and Bahl
   1967. The questions which one might ask about such
   contrasts are far from being exhausted by the re-
   search which has been done so far. Some unanswered
   questions are: I. To what extent does the lexical
   meaning of a main verb restrict the range of vec-
   tor verbs with which it may occur? II. To what ex-
   tent does the choice of a given vector verb depend
   on the meaning of a) specific elements in the sen-
   tence, b) the sentence as a whole, c) features of
   the context of speech having no overt linguistic ex-
   pression? III. To what extent are vectors redundant?

146

relatively little attention has been paid to the func-
tions of a compound verb in opposition to the corres-
ponding simple verb; or, to put the matter more ab-
stractly, to the functions of vector verbs as a class
in opposition to their absence. One might imagine such
functions to be essentially syntactic (that is, the
alternation simple verb:compound verb is governed
solely by the syntactic structures present in the en-
vironing sentence(s) and is thus semantically empty or
redundant), semantic (that is, the choice of a com-
pound verb as opposed to a simple one is made in order
to express a difference in meaning however subtle),
non-linguistic (that is, the choice simple:compound
verb is determined by the economic, educational, or
social status of the speaker (or hearer) or by the geo-
graphy of his linguistic experience), or to depend on
some combination of these factors.

Functions
of CV
(1) Syntactic
(2) Semantic
(3) Non-linguistic
(4) Combination
above three

These alternatives are explored and elaborated
in Section Four.

4.1 Previous writers on the functions of the com-
pound verb

Though rarely pursued the question of the func-
tions of the contrast simple:compound in the Hindi verb

system has been a subject of speculation and a source

of mystery to most writers on the subject, especially

if they are speakers of a West European language. In-

deed the category compond verb appears so unlike any

of the structures of European languages that some have

come near to denying that it has a function at all:

> "The explicator (=vector, PH) may have an effect
> similar to a verb particle (give up, give out,
> give in) or an adverb in English. However, in
> many conventional uses explicators are so com-
> monly used that they no longer carry any meaning
> at all." 1/

Although he occasionally compares the function

of the compound verb in Hindi to that of the perfect in

German[2] and elsewhere to the verbal prefix system of

Indo-European[3], Hacker's thesis is that vector verbs

function as redundant elements whose occurrence as a

class is determined by

> "eine eigentuemliche, nicht nur bei den Hilfs-
> verben (=vectors, PH) wirksame, sondern die ganze
> Sprache durchziehende stilistische Tendenz des
> Hindi in Aktion: die Neigung zum Pleonasmus." 4/

1/ Van Olphen 1970, p 148. Similar statements may be
found in Greaves, p 331, and Kellogg (see fn 8, below)

2/ Hacker 1958, paragraphs 98 and 99.

3/ Paragraph 90. However, he does not find a systematic
correspondence: "...aber...ist ihre Funktion oft viel
allgemeiner, als die von Praefixen oder dergl. in an-
dern Sprachen jemals sein kann...nur bei uThnaa ist
dies in einem gewissen Ausmass der Fall, indem es im
Deutschen den gleichbedeutenden er- und auf- ent-
spricht.": Hacker 1958, paragraph 90.

4/ Hacker 1958, Paragraph 13.

148

Hacker like Van Olphen sees little or no independent se-
mantic or syntactic function in the compound as opposed
to the simple verb:

> "...sie alle dazu dienen koennen, ein an sich
> schon im Hauptverb enthaltenes Bedeutungsmoment
> bloss herauszuholen, explizit zu machen, zu ent-
> falten. ... Dieses Entfalten ist die primaere
> Funktion der acht Hilfsverben." 5/

To the extent this writer is able to follow what
he means, Bahl 1967 seems to follow the position of
Hacker:

> "The only functions of the explicators (= vector
> verbs, PH) is to explicate the lexical content of
> the main verbs in grammatically specific ways." 6/

> "...the category of explicators is a syntactic ca-
> tegory in the sense, for instance, the tense sys-
> tem of finite verb." (sic) 7/

> "...explicators unfold or develop the lexical con-
> tent of verbs rather than modify it." 8/

> "We cannot...describe the explicative function of
> explicators in a satisfactory manner." 9/

> "Since we do not know what the...lexical content
> of a verb is we cannot understand the grammatical
> nature of the modification of the meaning of verbs
> by explicators." 10/

> "The other possibility of analysis...is to limit
> ourselves to the interpretation of the grammati-
> cal relationship between a verb and the explica-
> tor, disregarding the problem of contrast between
> simple and compound verbs." 11/

5/ Paragraph 89.   6/ P 329.

7/ P 330. (See above, 3.3.1) 8/ P 330.

9/ P. 334.   10/ P 336.

11/ P 347.

"By occurrence vs. non-occurrence of explicators
we mean the grammatical realization of the phase
or the aspect manifestations of activity. The
term grammatical realization refers to selectional
constraints imposed upon the two manifestations
of an activity by the grammatical environment. In
this section we shall be concerned primarily with
the selectional constraints only, without going
into details of the environment." 12/

"...the term optional occurrence includes those
sentences where the non-occurrence of compatible
vectors in terms of the criteria used by us re-
mains undetermined." 13/

"What we have tried to illustrate is just a part
of the grammatical properties of the phenomenon of
compound verbs. This seemingly complicated part of
Modern Standard Hindi grammar can be simplified a
great deal by developing proper control over the
data." 14/

From these passages it is clear (or seems to be clear)

that Bahl is aware of the issues to be raised in an ac-

count of the functions of the contrast simple:compound,

and is also aware of possible lines of approach. But, for

reasons of methodology[15], Bahl shies away from essaying

such an account. As a result he is not able to improve

substantially on what Hacker has to say on the question,

and confines himself to further remarks on the meanings

or connotations of the vectors in opposition to one ano-

ther.[16]

12/ P 352.　　　13/ P 353.　　　14/ P 367.

15/ See discussion above in section 2.

16/ Bahl's use of the term 'manifestation' is an impor-
tant contribution: see above, ad footnote 12, and
sections 4.3 and 4.4. So are his remarks on inher-
ently simple verbs: see below, 4.4.1, sets c, d.

Kellogg calls the type of compound verb we are concerned with here 'intensive'.[17] It is clear from Kellogg's own remarks that he is not using this term in a notional sense.[18] However, others, thinking of the meaning the term 'intensive' has in the description of other languages[19], feel obliged to show that the compound verb in Hindi is not 'intensive'.[20]

Guru calls compound verbs अवधारणबोधक awadhaaraNbodhak 'indicating restriction (of the extent of the action)'[21] and considers them to impart greater definiteness (niScay) to the expression of the action than does the correspon-

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17/ Kellogg 1938, p 259.

18/ "While the modification of the first verb by the secondary member may often be expressed in English either by the addition of certain particles, or by the use of another verb from that employed to represent the simple Hindi verb, in many cases, again, it will be found quite impossible to indicate in English the slight distinction between the simple verb and the combination. Indeed it is to be remarked that combinations in which denaa is the last member, even in Hindi, are often scarcely to be distinguished in meaning from the simple verb.": p 263. A similar opinion is expressed by Greaves 1933, p 331.

19/ For example, the series of forms derived with the affix yan in Sanskrit are known to Westerners as 'intensives': cf Whitney, paragraphs 1000-25. In Greek too, there is an 'intensive': cf Smyth, paragraph 867. McGregor 1972, pp 172-4, and Hacker 1958, paragraphs 74-83, use the term for compounds in -e: see 4.3.3.1.

20/ Hacker 1958 criticizes the use of the term at great length: paragraphs 2, 8 and 74. As does Pořízka 1969 in paragraph 27,94; and Greaves 1933, p 333. Others who use the term include: Davidova 1958, Barannikov and Barannikov, Pahwa, Scholberg and Vale.

ding simple verb.[22]

4.1.1 The work of Vincenc Pořízka

A clear and well thought out attempt to elucidate the function of the Hindi compound verb as a grammatical category in opposition to the simple verb has been made by only one of the many writers on the subject: In a lengthy monograph published in <u>Archiv Orientalni</u> over a three year period[1] Prof V Pořízka is able to show that the category of aspect as defined in the description of Slavonic languages is one of the factors operating in the distribution of simple verbs and their corresponding jaa-sequences:

> "...unmodified verbs are unmarked with regard to
> perfectiveness of the action: they have no inher-
> ent perfective aspect meaning nor do they pre-
> clude it and may denote it in certain contexts
> or situations. Modified verbal expressions with
> <u>jaanaa</u> are marked with regard to perfectiveness;
> they have taken the function of signifying per-
> fectiveness from unmodified verbs and developed
> into a special category." <u>2</u>/

22/ Guru (wikram samwat 2022), p 317. Compare Hacker 19-
    58's <u>Bestimmtheit</u>: paragraphs 11, 15-7, 20, 89, 91.

1/ 1967-1969.

2/ Pořízka 1967, p 78. With regard to the second part
   of his thesis, namely, that the compound verb expres-
   ses the perfective aspect, Pořízka has had his fore-
   runners. Among the Russians he includes Barannikov
   and Barannikov 1956, pp 127-8:
        "Так как функции образующих глаголов – уточнять

Pořízka's monograph consists essentially of a very well documented claim about (rather than a demonstration of) the function of the contrast simple:compound in the Hindi verb system. Aside from two substantive arguments, his lengthy exposition basically shows that nothing in the data he has collected conflicts with his interpretation of the alternation. Without the use of arguments proceeding from negative data,[3] it is difficult to show that the aspectual interpretation is demanded, especially since the simple verb according to Porizka may express either perfective or imperfective

---

направление действия, обозначаемого основой главного глагола, и так как всем сложным глаголам свойственно выражать законченность действия, то функции образующих глаголов близки к функциям префиксов в русских глаголах совершенного вида с приставками: от-дать, у-пасть, раз-бить и т. д."

Pahwa speaks of 'the sense of completion and finality of the action denoted by the root' when this occurs in a compound verb: pp 242-3. Pray (mimeo) speaks of the compound verb's being perhaps 'the only truly aspectual forms in the verbal system' of Hindi: p 8. Others speak of the sense of completion or закон-ченность or puurNtaa but only as inhering in compounds formed with some subset of the vector verbs: Jelovkov 1963, pp 99-100, for cuk, jaa and de; Davidova 1958, pp 226-7, for jaa, paa and cuk; Guru, pp 318-9, for jaa and le; Vajpeyi, pp 482, 484, for le, de and cuk; Sharma 1958, pp 88-9, for jaa, le, de, Daal and cuk; McGregor 1972, pp 99-103, for jaa, de and aa. Which vectors express completion is investigated in section 4.2.2 below.

3/ That is, information on what may not occur or is less acceptable than some alternative means for the expression of a given meaning. See discussion above in 2 of the methodological importance of negative data.

aspect.

> "...unmodified verbs in Hindi...are unmarked
> with regard to perfectiveness of the action,
> but can denote it in certain contexts or situ-
> ations. This often is the case in the preterite.
> ...unmodified verbs will have to be regarded
> as neutral in respect of aspect, or as zero-
> aspect verbs." 4/

 Pořízka's substantive arguments are: I that

translations of Hindi into Slavonic languages are often

found to render compound verbs with perfectives and sim-

ple verbs with imperfectives;[5] and, II that as in Sla-

vonic languages perfectives do not occur with phasal

expressions: 'start', 'continue', 'stop', etc., so in

Hindi the compound verb does not occur equivalent ex-

pressions: lag 'begin', -t@ rah 'continue', band kar

'stop', etc.[6]

perfective
↓↓
*you can not
look into the
internal
constituency of
these verbs.*

   The first of these arguments has many difficul-

ties[7] that are beyond the scope of this paper and hence

will not be discussed further here. The second is inter-

esting for two reasons: I. it turns on negative data:

a   pardaa girne lagtaa hai +pořízka

        pardaa gir jaane lagtaa hai *pořízka

        the curtain begins to fall[8]

4/ Pořízka 1968, p 70.   5/ Ibid., p 67 and p 77, fn 109

6/ Ibid., p 70.

7/ Such as the question of the interference of Russian
   linguistic categories with a Russian's perception of
   Hindi.

8/ Pořízka 1969, p 30.

Form: simple : Compound

Meaning: ~~imperfective~~ : perfective
Aspectually
Neutral

II. it presupposes universal semantic (or semantico-syn-
tactic) categories. That is, the fact that the formal
distinctions simple:compound and imperfective:perfec-
tive behave in parallel has significance for Porizka's
argument only if one assumes that there exist categories
such as 'aspect' and 'phase' which can be defined inde-
pendently of particular languages and that the restric-
tions in the cooccurrences of the language-particular
manifestations of these categories are parallel across
languages because such restrictions are determined by
the semantic or 'logical' properties of these categor-
ies. Thus, because the properties of perfectiveness are
not compatible with the properties of phase (or are per-
haps redundant to them), verbs marked for the perfective
aspect in Russian may not occur in phasal expressions:

start
mid
finish

b 1   он начал говорить   (imperfective)

  2   он начал сказать*   (perfective)

       he began to speak

If one accepts the assumptions made above the parallel
assymetry in Hindi (see sentence set a) becomes another
piece of evidence for ascribing aspectual function to
the simple:compound contrast.

       However, even accepting these assumptions there
are certain difficulties lying in the way of the correct
interpretation of this evidence. These difficulties we

4.1.2 Phasal expressions and the compound verb

A verb expressing phase is a verb which, not ex-
pressing an activity as such, provides information on
the temporal characteristics of an activity expressed
by some other verb with which it is in construction. As
such phasal verbs may be considered to be primarily as-
pectual in meaning with respect to some other verb.[1] It
is not surprising then that there should be restrictions
on the co-occurrence of compound verbs with verbs of
phase if we consider the former to be aspectually marked
forms:

a 1   wo <u>bolne</u> lagaa +bsdtgap

  2   wo <u>bol dene</u> lagaa *sdtga +bp

      he began to speak (compare b1 and b2 in 4.1.1)

However, the statement that compound verbs do not
occur in phasal expressions is at the same time not com-
pletely accurate and not very strongly discriminating.
Compound verbs in the speech of some individuals <u>do</u> oc-
casionally occur in phasal expressions:

b 1   raam ghar mE binaa rok Tok ke <u>ghusne</u> lagaa thaa

  2   +bsdtga Wp <u>ghus jaane</u> lagaa thaa +bp Wt[2] *sdga

      ram had begun dropping in freely

1/ Verbs of phase may themselves show aspectual contrast
   a b wo bolne <u>lagaa</u> +pabg wo bolne <u>lag gayaa</u> +pabg

2/ Speaker t finds b2 expresses greater 'audacity'. (boldness)
ずうずうしい

厚顔無耻心 (impudence)

c 1   siitaa ne baat baat par <u>ronaa</u> choR diyaa +bsdtgap

  2   <u>ro lenaa</u> choR diyaa +b   Wst Op   *dga

       sita gave up crying over every trifle

d 1   raam ne yah kaam samay par <u>karnaa</u> band kar diyaa

  2   +bsdtgap   <u>kar denaa</u> band kar diyaa +bgp Wst *da

       ram stopped getting this work done on time

However, these apparent counter-examples do not viti-

ate Pořízka's argument since in all these sentences the

phasal expression refers to a starting or stopping not

of the activities denoted by the compound verbs but of

the habit of engaging in these activities. These acti-

vities are iterated and perfective (and may be markedly

expressed as perfective). The habit of engaging in them

is delimited by <u>lag</u> 'begin', <u>choR</u> 'give up', etc. If the

sentences are altered in such a way that the temporal

frame becomes too slim to speak of picking up or discar-

ding habits, then the phasal expressions refer directly

to individual performances of the activities themselves.

In such utterances more speakers reject compound verbs:

e   mere wahAA pahUcte hii raam ghar mE <u>ghus jaane</u>

       lagaa *bsdtgap

       as soon as i got there ram began to enter the

       house

f   kal Saam hote hii siitaa ne baat baat par <u>ro le-</u>

       <u>naa</u> choR diyaa *bdtga +s   Op

(handwritten margin note: spoil the quality or reduce the force of something)

up crying over trifles[3]

Thus we may conclude that Pořízka is correct: Single acts (as in e and f) when being started or stopped[4] are not expressed with compound verbs in Hindi. Assuming that compound verbs express the perfective aspect, we have a neat explanation of their inability to occur with phasals, if we consider that from the point of view of its starting or stopping, any act or event, no matter how brief its duration in absolute terms, can be seen only as incomplete or imperfective.

The nearly complete restriction on the occurrence

3/ Note however the acceptability of
  a Saadii hote hii siitaa ne baat baat par <u>ro lenaa</u>
     choR diyaa +bt OKg ?p *a
     as soon as she got married sita gave up crying
     over every little trifle
Evidently the mere presence of a time adverbial in -te hii is not in itself sufficient to narrow the time frame below that required to speak of a change in a habit. The state of being married is commensurate in duration with that of having the habit of crying over trifles; the duration of an evening is too short to accomodate the end of such a habit.

4/ Phasal expressions properly include -<u>t@ rah</u>, -<u>t@ jaa</u>
and -<u>e jaa</u> ('keep ___ -ing', 'continue to ___'). In construction with these expressions we do not find compound verbs (This has been noticed by Barker 1967, vol I, p 391, and by Pray (mimeo), p 7.):
  a 1 raam ghar mE binaa rok Tok ke <u>ghustaa</u> rahaa +gapb
    2 <u>ghus jaataa</u> rahaa *gapb
     ram kept dropping in without a by-your-leave
  b 1 siitaa baat baat par <u>rotii</u> gaii +gapb
    2   <u>ro letii</u> gaii *gapb
     sita continued to cry over every little trifle
  c 1 raam yah kaam samay par <u>kiye</u> gayaa +gpb *a
    2   <u>kar diye</u> gayaa *gpab
     ram went on getting this work done on time

of compound verbs in phasal expressions does not dis-

criminate them strongly from other verb-verb sequences:

g 1   mAI ne apne palang par <u>aa kar leTnaa</u> choR diyaa

  2   +ga   Wp *b   <u>aa leTnaa</u> choR diyaa *gab
                                          +p

    i gave up coming up and lying down on my bed

h 1   bhaaluu madhumakkhii kaa chattaa <u>toR kar khaane</u>

  2   lagaa +apbg   <u>toR khaane lagaa</u> *ab   Wpg

    the bear ripped open the hives and began to eat

    (the honey)   (see sentence set 3.2.1.b)

i   wo <u>aa sakne</u> lagaa *gapb

    he began to be able to come

However, while it may be true that this lack of differ-

entiality makes the non-collocability of compound verbs

with verbs of phase an indeterminate criterion for defi-

ning the set of compound verbs, it is not in itself an

argument against Pořízka's interpretation of that non-

collocability.   collocate ⇒ to be used regularly together in a language

4.1.3 Aspect and communicative function

    Granting for a moment that aspectual categories

are behind the distribution of simple:compound verbs

in Hindi or are at least an important factor in their

distribution, we are faced with a further problem: Why?

Why an explicit expression of aspectual contrast in Hin-

di? What is the communicative function[1] of such a contrast?

Aspect in the elegant definition of Sweet is the contrast of "distinctions of time independent of any reference to past, present or future."[2] However, there are morphological gaps in the verb system of an aspect-expressing language like Russian which aspectually contrasted verb forms are called on to fill. For example, the aspectual system is able to express the contrast progressive:completed for which there is otherwise no morphological category:

a 1   Он приходил[I] ко мне   he was coming to my place

  2   Он пришёл[P] ко мне   he came to my place

In Russian the aspectual system serves to express the contrast present:future as well:

b 1   Он приходит[I] ко мне   he is coming to my place

  2   Он придёт[P] ко мне   he'll come to my place[3]

1/ The communicative function of a contrast may be seen as deriving from factors both linguistic and extra-linguistic: I) to what degree is the information conveyed by a contrast unavailable from its linguistic context, II) to what degree is it unavailable from its extra-linguistic context (and thus of use to the individuals exchanging it). For example, in:
a   john always goes home at five   and
b   john and mary always go home at five
the information conveyed by the contrast goes:go is available from the rest of the sentence. The information conveyed by the contrast left:will leave in:
c d the train / left // will leave / at noon today
is not available from the rest of the sentence, but is of little moment to a man with a watch.

2/ Sweet 1892, p 101.

Hindi, on the other hand, with separate morphological categories for these contrast may express them without recourse to the contrast simple:compound verb:[4]

c 1   wo mere yahAA <u>aa rahaa thaa</u>   (see a1 for gloss)

  2   wo mere yahAA <u>aayaa thaa</u>   (see a2 for gloss)

d 1   wo mere yahAA <u>aa rahaa hai</u>   (see b1 for gloss)

  2   wo mere yahAA <u>aaegaa</u>   (see b2 for gloss)

It even has a morphological category to express the perfect:non-perfect contrast that Slavic languages appear to get along without.[5]

e 1   wo mere yahAA <u>aayaa hai</u>   he has come to my place

  2   wo mere yahAA <u>aayaa</u>   he came to my place

Given this wealth of morphological contrasts in Hindi, one might well ask if there are not other functions that the simple:compound contrast fills. After a further look at the question of aspect (section 4.2) the remainder of section 4 is devoted to other possible functions.

3/ This holds for the expression of the contrast present:future within the context of a single act. For habitual action the contrast is differently expressed.

4/ Pořízka 1967 has noted the perfective:zero-aspect and imperfective:zero-aspect of Hindi's verbal system as distinguishing it from the perfective:imperfective contrast of Slavic's verb systems: p 70.

5/ However, it seems from the discussion of 'two-way action' in Russian that some part of the role played by the contrast perfect:non-perfect in English and Hindi is played in Russian, again via aspectual pairing:
  a   Он взял книгу   he has taken the book —has it now
  b   Он брал книгу   he took the book —and returned it
Discussion may be found in Forsyth 1970, pp 12-13.

4.1.4 The simple:compound verb as privative con-
trast

As the term itself implies, aspect has a great
deal to do with how the speaker wishes to view an event,
with his temporal point of view. If.this point of view
is from the outside, then the event is seen as a point,
as a completed whole; if from the inside, then the event
is seen as a line, as incomplete and unfolding. ·Verbs
forms expressing the first point of view are perfective;
those expressing the second, imperfective.

Poŕízka's thesis is in part that the simple verb
in Hindi is unmarked for aspect, that it expresses ei-
ther a perfective or imperfective view of the action,
depending on context. Only the compound (or, at least,
those in vector jaa)[1] unambiguously expresses ^perfective aspect.
Thus the contrast between the simple and the compound
verb is 'privative.'[2]: one term of the pair of contrast-
ing elements conveys the presence of a given feature;
the other conveys neither the presence or the absence
of that feature.

In the following sentence pair, both the events
of giving and going are seen from the same point of view

_____

1/ For the aspectual properties of the others, see 4.2.

2/ Roman Jakobson first applied this term to the analy-
   sis of aspect in Russian. See Forsyth 1970, pp 6-8.

as completed whole or pointlike actions:

a 1   mAI ne use pAAc paise de diye aur calaa gayaa   *UIMP*

  2   diye aur calaa gayaa   *diye is "objective"*
                                                     one description
      i gave him five paise and left   *use diye*
                                                      de diye
Yet speakers agree that the semantically perfective   *is "subjective"*
                                                      description
act of giving may be expressed either with a simple

(diye) or compound (de diye) verb: +bsdtgap

      Most events can be seen under either a perfective

or imperfective aspect. However, there are some events,

of such brief duration that it is impossible to present

or represent them from inside, which may be classed as

inherently perfective.[3] For example, momentaneous chan-

ges in state resulting from the completion of some prior

(and perhaps semantically durative) activity: arrive,

the completion of the activity of approaching; find, the

completion of the activity of searching; recognize, an

all-or-nothing change in mental state; etc. Such inher-

ently perfective events can be expressed either by sim-

ple or compound verbs:

b 1   mAI raam-ke yahAA pahUcaa +bsdtgap

  2   pahUc gayaa +bsdtgap   *Marathi*
                                                     ↓
      i arrived at ram's   *No cv's*
                                                     for this
c 1   us ne mujhe pahcaanaa +bstg   Wdp   W?a

  2   pahcaan liyaa +bsdtgap

      he recognized me

in my opinion.

To complete the schema of a privative contrast we must show that the simple verb may express imperfective activity. This matter is taken up in the succeeding section.

4.2 Simple:compound verbs and the contrast conation:completion

One of the specific contrasts that derives from the general contrast in Russian between the perfective and imperfective[1] aspects is that between conation, or the attempt to perform an action, and completion, or the successful performance of that action:

a   МЫ ДОГОНЯЛИ[I] его...и наконец ДОГНАЛИ[P]

we were catching up with him...and finally we caught up with him

b   МЫ ЛОВИЛИ[I] его, но не ПОЙМАЛИ[P]

we tried to catch him but didn't succeed

Although the Russian 'imperfective' may in other contexts express completed or perfective action, the imperfective forms in these examples denote the unsuccessful attempt to perform activity.

1/ The name 'imperfective' although traditionally in use to describe one class of verb forms in Russian is in fact somewhat misleading since it can be shown to be unmarked with regard to aspect: Forsyth, pp 3-6, 347.

2/ Sentences a and b from Forsyth, p 49. ЛОВИТЬ[I] and ПОЙМАТЬ[P] are the suppletive members of an aspect pair.

In Hindi we may find similar 'imperfective' or
conative uses of the simple verb:

c 1   raajaa ne taswiir <u>banaaii</u> magar nahII ban paaii

       +bsdtgap

       the king tried to make a picture but couldn't[3]

Here the activity of making a picture as expressed by
the simple verb <u>banaaii</u> is seen as both unsuccessful
and incomplete. Note the contrast if a compound verb
occurs:

c 2   raajaa ne taswiir <u>banaa lii</u> +bsdtgap

       the king made a picture (completed action)

   3   raajaa ne taswiir <u>banaa lii</u> magar nahII ban paaii

       *bsdtgap

       the king made a picture but couldn't

<u>banaa lii</u> implies successful completion of the activity
of making a picture. Thus it is a meaningless contradic-
tion to follow it with a clause that states this activi-
ty to be unsuccessful and incomplete.

Sometimes the conative:completed contrast is rea-
lized by different lexical items in English correspond-
ing to simple:compound verbs in Hindi:

d 1   ham ne aap kaa pataa <u>DhUURhaa</u> lekin nahII mil

       paayaa +bsdtgap

3/ I am indebted to Harender Vasudeva for pointing out
   this idiom to me and for suggesting its bearing on
   the question of aspect in Hindi.

આહીં ત્યાપા પત્તાસ્રૂધ શોધ્યા પણ ઘાપડયા નહિ
✗ શોધ્યુંકાઢ્યા

આસ્કીભ્યામાં માહિતી નિચાલમાં પણ
કાહિ અકળ નાહી
✗ આ મહીં ત્યામા માહિતી નિચાલ્ય હોયામાં
પણ કાહી અકળન નાહી.

165

we looked for your address but couldn't find it

d 2   ham ne aap kaa pataa DhUURh liyaa +bsdtgap

we found your address[4]

3   ham ne aap kaa pataa DhUURh liyaa lekin nahII

mil paayaa *bsdtgap

we found your address but couldn't find it

In other instances the successful:unsuccessful

contrast may not be explicitly made in English at all:[5]   — દેખ કૃત્ર

e 1   mAI ne use paise diye lekin us ne nahII liye +bgap

મેં ત્યામા પૈસે દિલ પણ ત્યાંને વૈણલૈ નાહી

2   mAI ne use paise de diye +bgap   દેકન ત્યાનલૈ

3   mAI ne use paise de diye lekin us ne nahII liye દૈ ય દેઝ્યા
                                                        દેઝ્યા ત્યાનલૈ
*bga   ?p

e 1 3   i gave him the money but he wouldn't take it

2   i gave him the money

In Hindi de de 'give' implies actual transfer whereas de

'give' need not. This difference, while expressible in

4/ Perhaps this relation between DhUURh 'look for' and
DhUURh le 'find' is behind the expression search out
sometimes heard in India:
a   we searched out your number in the telephone di-
     rectory
Similar to the relation between DhUURh and DhUURh le
is that between ilaaj kar 'treat' and ilaaj kar de
'cure'. Both DhUURh and ilaaj kar may depending on
context express either conative or completed action:
b   DaakTar ne raam ke haize kaa ilaaj kiyaa aur
     calaa gayaa
     the doctor treated ram's cholera and left +btgp
     the doctor cured ram's cholera and left +bg *tp
Southworth 1971 suggests some similar pairs: kar 'do'
and kar le 'accomplish', samjhaa 'explain' and sam-
jhaa le 'persuade': p 120.

5/ For some further functional analogs in English see 4.5

English (give:try to give) is not obligatorily made.
There is a similar opposition between fon kar 'call'
and fon kar le 'call up': it is not enough to pick up
a phone, dial a number and get an answer; to use fon
kar le the caller must get the person he intends to
speak to on the line:[6]

f   mAI ne das baje aap ko fon kiyaa lekin aap nahII

1   mile +basdtgp

      i called you at ten o'clock but couldn't get you

2   mAI ne das baje aap ko fon kar liyaa +basdtg *p

      i called you up at ten o'clock

3   mAI ne das baje aap ko fon kar liyaa lekin aap

      nahII mile *basdtp   +g

      i called you up at ten o'clock but i couldn't

      get you

      For some speakers the use of the compound verb in
sentences like c2, d2, e2 and f2 implies something even
stronger than successful completion. For them expression
of a transitive activity by a compound implies the ex-
haustion of the object or the exhaustive performance of
that activity:

6/ Interestingly, the perfective:imperfective opposition
   in Russian conveys an exactly parallel contrast:
   a   Я звонил[I] тебе вчера, но тебя не было дома.
      i called you yesterday, but you were not at home
   b   Я позвонил[P] ей и всё передал.
      i called her up and reported everything
   c   Я позвонил[P] тебе вчера, но тебя не было дома.*
      i called you up yesterday, but you weren't at home

g 1   mAI ne parAAThaa <u>khaayaa</u> lekin saaraa nahII +sdt
                                                              +bgap

       i ate the paratha but not all of it

  2   mAI ne parAAThaa <u>khaa liyaa</u> +sdtgapb

       i ate up the paratha

  3   g2 + lekin saaraa nahII *dba Wsp +tg

       ...but not all of it[7]

However there is less agreement on the ability of the
simple:compound verb to express partial:exhaustive per-
formance than on its ability to express conation:comple-
tion: (compare speaker reactions in sets e and h)

h 1   mAI ne use paise <u>diye</u> lekin saare nahII +dtgapb Ws

  2   mAI ne use paise <u>de diye</u> +sdtgapb

  3   h2 + lekin saare nahII *db ?tp +sag

       i gave him the money -but not all of it

       It is also the case that not every simple verb   ⟵— important

may express conation:

i   us ne siiTii <u>sunii</u> lekin wo sunaaii nahII dii *apb
                                                              +g
       he listened for the whistle but couldn't hear it

Nonetheless the fact that the compound counterparts of
those simple verbs that do express conation usually agree

7/ It is to be noted that the mere presence of a <u>lekin</u>-
   clause is not the factor governing the unacceptabi-
   lity of the third sentence in these sets:
   a   raam roTiyAA <u>khaa gayaa</u> +sdtbgap
   b   a + lekin binaa tript hue +sdtbga   ?p
   c   a + lekin kewal acchii tarah phuulii huii*abdg +stp
        ram ate up the chapatis -/but without feeling sa-
        tisfied//but only the nicely blown up ones/
   Only <u>lekin</u>-clauses that conflict with the completive
   or exhaustive sense of the first clause are unable to
   follow a compound verb.

in not permitting a conative interpretation is important evidence that (almost all) vector verbs imply the successful completion of the activity expressed by the main verb.

One of course would have preferred 'always' to 'usually' and 'all' to 'almost all' in the statement preceding. Then one would have had a very concrete, non-ad hoc generalization to make about the function of compound verbs as a class. However, the facts, as we shall see in the succeeding section, are otherwise. Although these facts lead to a partition of a set of linguistic objects which on the basis of several other criteria form a single class[8], these facts themselves are worth some attention since they run counter to what one would expect who ascribes aspectual contrast to the simple:compound verb.

4.2.1 Diagnostic tests for the conative:completive contrast

In what follows we attempt to show to what extent each of the twenty-four vector verbs implies the completion of the activity expressed by the main verb. First we present an example of the conative use of some main

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8/ For discussion of these criteria see sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 4.2.3.

verb which frequently occurs with the vector in question, then the corresponding compound verb, and finally a contradictory sentence like cdef3 of section 4.2 to demonstrate the inadmissability of a conative or incompletive interpretation for the compound. The reactions of Hindi speakers to these sentence sets are discussed in section 4.2.2.

a 1   wo injan harkat mE <u>laayaa</u> magar wo harkat mE nahII aayaa +pb   *g

  2   wo injan harkat mE <u>le aayaa</u> +pbg *a

  3   a2 + magar wo harkat mE nahII aayaa *pb

a 1   he tried to get the engine going but it wouldn't go

  2   he got the engine going

  3   -but it wouldn't go[1]

b 1   Sokgrast aurat ne apne kapRe <u>phaaRe</u> lekin us se nahII phaTe +gpb

  2   Sokgrast aurat apne kapRe <u>phaaR uThii</u> +gpb *a

  3   b2 + lekin us se nahII phaTe *pb +g

b 1   the griefstricken woman tried to tear her clothes but was not able to tear them

---

1/ <u>harkat mE le aa</u> 'get into motion' is the only example we have been able to find of the use of vector <u>aa</u> in a compound that it is possible to oppose to a conative simple. All others involve changes of state or actions that are not mediated through the operation of will or intention and thus cannot be conative. a2 is not a conjunct sequence with deleted <u>kar</u>:
a   wo injan harkat mE <u>le kar aa gayaa</u> *<u>pbg</u>

b 2   the griefstricken woman tore at her clothes

  3   -but was not able to tear them

c 1   ek aadmii ko apnii taraf aataa huaa dekh kar

       xargoS bhaagaa lekin apnaa pair cAgul se nikaal

       nahII sakaa +gp   *b

  2   ek aadmii ko apnii taraf aataa huaa dekh kar

       xargoS bhaag khaRaa huaa +gpb   *a

  3   c2 + lekin apnaa pair cAgul se nikaal nahII sakaa

       *gp

c 1   seeing a man coming in its direction the rabbit

       tried to run away but it couldn't get its foot

       out of the trap

  2   seeing a man coming in its direction the rabbit

       ran away

  3   -but it couldn't get its foot out of the trap

d 1   sAAR hamaare makaan mE ghusaa lekin ham ne use

       ghusne nahII diyaa +pg   *b

  2   sAAR hamaare makaan mE ghus calaa +pgb   *a

  3   d2 + lekin ham ne use ghusne nahII diyaa +gp^2 *b

d 1   a bull tried to get into our house but we didn't

       let him

  2   a bull began to get into our house

  3   -but we didn't let him

2/ Compare d2 and d3 with the following in jaa:
  a   sAAR hamaare makaan mE ghus gayaa +pgab
  b   a + lekin ham ne use ghusne nahII diyaa *pgab
  The acceptability of d3 depends on cal, not on ghus.

e 1   riitaa ne gaay kaa goSt <u>khaayaa</u> lekin khaa nahII   ⁊
      sakii +pg   *b   ∂

   2   riitaa gaay kaa goSt <u>khaa cukii</u> +pg   *ab

   3   e2 + lekin khaa nahII sakii *pg

e 1   rita tried to eat beef but couldn't

   2   rita already ate beef

   3   -but couldn't

f 1   us ne apne pati ko Saraabii <u>banaayaa</u> lekin / wo   ⁊
      nahII banaa +g   / us ne Saraab chuii tak nahII +p   °
                                                  *b

   2   us ne apne pati ko Saraabii <u>banaa choRaa</u> +pgb   *a

   3   f2 + lekin / wo nahII banaa *g   / us ne Saraab
      chuii tak nahII *pb

f 1   she tried to make a drunkard out of her husband
      but / couldn't / he never even touched the stuff

   2   she made a drunkard out of her husband   ·

   3   -but / couldn't / he never even touched the stuff

g 1   mAI ne is baat ko <u>suljhaayaa</u> lekin sulajh nahII   ⁊
      sakii +pgb   ∂

   2   mAI ne is baat ko <u>suljhaa kar choR diyaa</u> +pgb   *a

   3   g2 + lekin wo sulajh nahII sakii *pgb

g 1   i tried to straighten this thing out but i could
      not manage to do so

   2   i straightened this thing out

   3   -but i could not manage to do so

h 1   raam ne fenii <u>pii</u> magar pii nahII sakaa +pgb   *a   ⁊
                                                                       °

h 2   raam fenii <u>pii gayaa</u> +pgab

  3   h2 + magar pii nahII sakaa *pgb

h 1   ram tried to drink the cashew wine but couldn't

  2   ram drank up the cashew wine

  3   -but couldn't

i 1   mariiz <u>khaRaa huaa</u> parantu dard ke maare us se

      khaRaa huaa nahII gayaa +pgb   *a

  2   mariiz <u>khaRaa ho gayaa</u>[3] +pgab

  3   i2 + parantu dard ke maare us se khaRaa huaa na-

      hII gayaa *pgb

i 1   the patient tried to stand up but because of the

      pain he couldn't

  2   the patient stood up

  3   -but because of the pain he couldn't

j 1   raadhaa ne raam kii ciTThii <u>paRhii</u> lekin us se

      paRhii nahII gaii +pgb

  2   raadhaa ne raam kii ciTThii <u>paRh Daalii</u> +pgb *a

  3   j2 + lekin us se paRhii nahII gaii *pgb

j 1   radha tried to read ram's letter but couldn't

  2   radha read ram's letter through

  3   -but couldn't

3/ Because of differences in connotation depending on
whether <u>jaa</u> occurs with a transitive main verb or with
an intransitive, we test it here with main verbs of
each type. The connotational differences are discussed
in Hacker 1958, p 203ff and 206ff. Hacker's statements
are discussed by Van Olphen, p 159, pp 166-7 and cri-
ticized by Pořízka 1967, pp 79-80.

k 1   bhuut dekhte hii wo <u>cillaaii</u> lekin us ke mUh se ⸮

        aawaaz nahII niklii +pgb

  2   bhuut dekhte hii wo <u>cillaa dii</u>[4] +pg b *a

  3   k2 + lekin us ke mUh se aawaaz nahII niklii *gb +p

k 1   as soon as she saw the ghost she wanted to scream

       but her voice stuck in her throat

  2   as soon as she saw the ghost she screamed

  3   -but her voice stuck in her throat

l 1   pahlwaan ne apne pratidwandwii ko <u>dabaayaa</u> magar ⸮

        wo nahII dabaa +pgb

  2   pahlwaan ne apne pratidwandwii ko <u>dabaa dharaa</u>

        +pb   Vg   *a

  3   l2 + magar wo nahII dabaa *pgb

l 1   the wrestler tried to floor his opponent but he

       wouldn't go down

  2   the wrestler floored his opponent

  3   -but he wouldn't go down

m 1   ahmad yahAA se <u>calaa</u> magar ham ne use pakRe ⸮

        rakhaa +gp   *b

  2   ahmad yahAA se <u>cal niklaa</u>[5] +gpb   *a

4/ For the completive sense of vector <u>de</u> with transitive
   main verbs see section 4.2, sentence set e.

5/ <u>nikal</u> in this sentence should probably be considered
   a factor verb rather than a vector (see 3.2.5 for the
   distinction). In general sentences in which a simple
   verb expresses conation do not have compound counter-
   parts in vector <u>nikal</u>. As <u>nikal</u> occurs as vector in
   sentences expressing involuntary acts or sensory ex-
   perience, there can be no conative counterparts: 3.6.6.

174

m 3   m2 + magar ham ne use pakRe rakhaa *gpb

m 1   ahmad tried to leave here but we kept hold of him

  2   ahmad got out of here

  3   -but we kept hold of him

n 1   raam ne gaNit kaa praSn <u>suljhaayaa</u> magar wo nahII $\mathord{?}_\mathit{o}$
       sulajh sakaa +pgb

  2   raam ne gaNit kaa praSn <u>suljhaa nikaalaa</u> +pgb   *a

  3   n2 + magar wo nahII sulajh sakaa *pgb

n 1   ram tried to solve the math problem but he could
       not do so

  2   ram solved the math problem

  3   -but he could not do so

o 1   Daakuu kaa cuTkalaa sun kar mAI <u>hAsaa</u> lekin hAsii $\mathord{?}_\mathit{o}$
       mere mUh mE hii rah gaii +pgab

  2   Daakuu kaa cuTkalaa sun kar mAI <u>hAs paRaa</u> +pgab

  3   o2 + lekin hAsii mere mUh mE hii rah gaii *pgab

o 1   hearing the dacoit's joke i felt like laughing but
       the laugh stuck in my throat

  2   hearing the dacoit's joke i laughed

  3   -but the laugh stuck in my throat

p 1   sirf mohan ne mumbaapurii kaa darwaazaa <u>kholaa</u> $\mathord{?}_\mathit{b}$
       parantu wo khulaa kyaa hilaa tak nahII +pgb   *a

  2   sirf mohan mumbaapurii kaa darwaazaa <u>khol paayaa</u>
       +pgab

  3   p2 + parantu wo khulaa kyaa hilaa tak nahII *pgb

p 1   only mohan tried to open the gate to bombay but
it didn't even budge let alone open

  2   only mohan managed to open the gate to bombay

  3   -but it didn't even budge let alone open

q 1   pulis ko dekh kar wo <u>uThii</u> lekin kamzorii kii ?
wajah se wo uTh nahII paaii +pgb   *a

  2   pulis ko dekh kar wo <u>uTh baiThii</u> +pgab

  3   q2 + lekin kamzorii kii wajah se wo uTh nahII
paaii *pgb

q 1   seeing the police she tried to get up but she
was too weak to

  2   seeing the police she got up

  3   -but she was too weak to

r 1   munne ko kuch dahii do, haraamxor ne saalan <u>khaa-</u> ?
<u>yaa</u> magar kuch khaa nahII sakaa +pgb *a

  2   munne ko kuch dahii do, haraamxor saalan <u>khaa</u>
<u>maraa</u> +pb   Oga

  3   r2 + magar kuch khaa nahII sakaa *pb   ?g

r 1   give the kid some curds, the little bugger tried
to eat the curry but couldn't eat a thing

  2   give the kid some curds, the little bugger ate
the curry[6]

  3   -but couldn't eat a thing

6/ In r1 the child is to be given curds because he is
presumably hungry; in r2 he is to be given curds to
help him digest a hot curry.

```
s 1    das mahiine ke baad baap ne use ghar se bhagaayaa ?

       lekin wo thaa jo wahII banaa rahaa +pgb

  2    das mahiine ke baad baap ne use ghar se bhagaa

       maaraa +pb   *ga

  3    s2 + lekin wo thaa jo wahII banaa rahaa *pb

s 1    after ten months his father tried to kick him

       out but he stuck in there

  2    after ten months his father kicked him out

  3    -but he stuck in there

t 1    mAI ne upaay socaa thaa par us samay kuch nahII ?

       suujhaa thaa +pgab

  2    mAI ne upaay soc rakhaa thaa +pgab

  3    t2 + par us samay kuch nahII suujhaa thaa *pgab

t 1    i'd tried to think of a way out but at the time

       nothing came to mind

  2    i had thought up a way out

  3    -but at the time nothing came to mind

u 1    apnii dilcasp baatO se us ne sab ko hAsaayaa ma- ?

       gar koii nahII hAsaa +pg     *ab

  2    apnii dilcasp baatO se us ne sab ko hAsaa kar

       rakh diyaa +pgab

  3    u2 + magar koii nahII hAsaa *pg

u 1    he tried to make them all laugh by telling them

       amusing things but nobody laughed

  2    telling them amusing things he made them all roar
```

u 3   -but nobody laughed

v 1   palang par leT kar <u>soii</u> magar dard ke maare us ?

      se soyaa nahII gayaa +pgb

  2   palang par leT kar <u>so rahii</u> +pgb   *a

  3   v2 + magar dard ke maare us se soyaa nahII gayaa

      *pb   +g

v 1   lying down on the bed she tried to get to sleep

      but the pain was such that she couldn't

  2   lying down on the bed she went to sleep

  3   -but the pain was such that she couldn't

w 1   apne pati ke dehaant kii xabar sun kar wo <u>roii</u>   ?

      lekin xuSii kii wajah se ro nahII sakii +gpb

  2   apne pati ke dehaant kii xabar sun kar wo <u>ro lii</u>[7]

      +gpb   *a

  3   w2 + lekin xuSii kii wajah se ro nahII sakii *gpb

w 1   when she heard the news of her husband's death

      she tried to cry but she was too pleased to cry

  2   when she heard the news of her husband's death

      she had a cry

  3   -but she was too pleased to cry

x 1   us ne saarii mahfil <u>rijhaaii</u> par koii bhii nahII ?

      rijhaa +gb   ?p   *a

  2   wo saarii mahfil <u>rijhaa le gaii</u> +gpab

  3   x2 + par koii bhii nahII rijhaa *gpb

7/ For the non-conative connotation of <u>le</u> with transitive
  main verbs see sentence sets c, d and f in section 4.2.

x 1   she tried to charm all her audience but nobody
       was charmed

   2   she captivated her entire audience

   3   -but nobody was charmed

y 1   mohan ne duunaa zor lagaa kar darwaazaa <u>toRaa</u> $\underset{o}{\curvearrowright}$

       lekin wo nahII TuuTaa +pgb   *a

   2   mohan duunaa zor lagaa kar darwaazaa <u>toR sakaa</u> +pg
                                                          +b
   3   y2 + lekin wo nahII TuuTaa *pgb

y 1   applying redoubled strength mohan attacked the
       door but it wouldn't break

   2   applying redoubled strength mohan was able to
       break through the door

   3   -but it wouldn't break

4.2.2 Completion and the category vector verb

From sentence set d in the preceding section it
is clear that <u>cal</u>, which is grouped by about half the
grammarians of Hindi[1] with <u>le</u>, <u>de</u>, <u>jaa</u>, etc., does not
belong in the class of vector verbs if the incapacity to
express conation is used as a criterion for establishing

1/ Twelve out of the twenty-three we have considered:
   see section 3.1. Of the remainder only Hacker 1958
   specifically excludes <u>cal</u> (paragraph 84):
        "Zwar betonen intransitive <u>jaanaa</u>-Komposita...
        keineswegs die Vollendung des Vorgangs...aber
        <u>calnaa</u> unterstreicht seine <u>Unabgeschlossenheit</u>,
        positiv ausgedrueckt: seine <u>Progressivitaet</u>."
   We cannot accept Hacker's statement about vector <u>jaa</u>.

such a category; <u>cal</u>-sequences permit a conative inter-
pretation. Other examples:

a 1   pulis ko dekhte hii wo <u>bhaag calaa</u> +gpb   *a

  2   a1 + lekin bhaag nahII sakaa +g   *pb

a 1   as soon as he saw the police he made as if to
      run away

  2   -but he couldn't

b 1   wo apnii gharwaalii ko bhii <u>maar calaa</u> +gpb *a

  2   b1 + magar us ne use maarne nahII diyaa +g   *pb

b 1   he also tried to hit his wife

  2   -but she didn't let him

It should be noted that there is nothing about the main
verbs <u>ghus</u>, <u>bhaag</u> or <u>maar</u> which permits in general the
conative interpretation possible for <u>cal</u>-sequences. Other
vectors when occurring with these main verbs express com-
pletion:[2]

c 1   pulis ko dekhte hii wo <u>bhaag gayaa</u> +pgab

  2   c1 + lekin bhaag nahII sakaa *pgab

c 1   as soon as he saw the police he ran away

  2   -but couldn't

d 1   wo apnii gharwaalii ko bhii <u>maar baiThaa</u> +pgb *a

  2   d1 + magar us ne use maarne nahII diyaa *pb +g

d 1   he also struck his wife

  2   -but she didn't let him

<u>2</u>/ For the demonstration of this for main verb <u>ghus</u>,
  see section 4.2.1.fn 2.

Two other vectors permit a conative interpreta-
tion for some speakers: uTh and, with intransitive main
verbs, de.[3] Other examples:

e 1   apne pati ke dehaant kii xabar sun kar wo ro
       નિધિયમાં લાગણી.
       uThii +gpb   *a

  2   el + lekin xuSii kii wajah se ro nahII sakii +g *p
                                                      *b

e 1   when she heard the news of her husband's death
       she burst into tears

  2   -but she was too pleased to cry

f 1   ahmad yahAA se cal diyaa +gpab   નિધ્ધુ ગેળા

  2   fl + magar ham ne use pakRe rakhaa +g.   OKp   *ab

f 1   ahmad started to leave here

  2   -but we kept hold of him

Again, other vectors with these main verbs express com-
pletion of the activities denoted.[4]

Other vectors, too, while usually expressing com-
pletion, with some main verbs do not:[5]   -ોાન કર્ળ ટાकणी/ होेरા.

g 1   raam Gusse mE aa kar mujhe fon kar baiThaa +pgb *a

  2   gl + lekin mAI ghar par nahII thaa +pgb

g 1   getting mad ram rang me up

  2   -but i wasn't home

3/ See sentence sets b and k in section 4.2.1.

4/ Compare e and f with 4.2.1, w and m, respectively.

5/ For the usual completive sense of vector baiTh see
   sentence set d, this section, and set q in 4.2.1. For
   the completive sense of fon kar with vector le, see

While it would be very interesting to investigate just what it is that vectors cal, uTh, de$_{in}$[6], etc., in these sentences do express (if not completion[7]), such a discussion would take us away from the principal concern of this section: the relation of compound verbs as a class to the category of aspect. Before concluding that there is no systematic relation of the compound verb to perfective aspect[8], we might consider whether it is correct to identify perfective aspect with the rather absolute concept of completion that the diagnostic test of the preceding section assumes.

The term 'aspect' implies 'point of view' not the completion or non-completion of some activity regardless of the speaker's point of view. If we take a more relative view of completion as our concept of the perfective aspect[9], we can show that its expression is a distin-

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6/ By de$_{in}$ we mean that vector de which occurs with intransitive main verbs and does not admit the postposition ne with the agent. Van Olphen 1970 similarly divides vectors into homophones on the basis of divergent semantic and syntactic properties: pp 165-67.

7/ Several writers suggest that these vectors express inception. See Van Olphen for a review of their views: pp 158-62. It is interesting that all these vectors that admit a conative interpretation are intransitive.

8/ The consequences would be serious as expression of aspect is the only semantic function so far proposed.

9/ A view that is consonant at least with Forsyth's definition of the Russian perfective aspect as expressing "the action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture": p 8.

guishing feature of the category vector verb[10].

4.2.3 Relative completion and the compound verb

In Hindi there is a construction using <u>jab tak</u>...
<u>tab tak</u>... in which the completion of one action at a
given moment in time is opposed to the non-completion of
another. For example, in

a 1   jab tak mAI wahAA <u>pahUcaa</u> tab tak wo <u>calaa gayaa</u>
       <u>thaa</u> +gapb

       by the time i got there he had already gone
the action of arriving with respect to the action of
going away is incomplete, while the action of going
away is with respect to the action of arriving complete.
It is in the expression of an action incomplete not in
an absolute sense but relative to some other action that
we may not have the compound verb:

a 2   jab tak mAI wahAA <u>pahUc gayaa</u> tab tak wo calaa
       gayaa thaa *gapb

Similarly in the expression of an action that is seen as
complete with reference to some other action we must
have the compound verb:

a 3   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak wo <u>gayaa thaa</u>
       *gapb   (Delhi: g)

10/ Although even here the criterion of grammicaliza-
    tion is necessary to distinguish conjunct sequences.

183

a 4   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak wo <u>calaa thaa</u>[1]

   . *gab   Up   (reminiscent of Panjabi Urdu: g)

   It is in the <u>jab tak</u>...<u>tab tak</u>...-construction of

this type[2] that we find a thorough-going, complete and

unambiguous distribution of all compound verbs (as defined

by the criteria discussed in section 3) and all corres-

ponding simple verbs in, respectively, perfective (or rel-

atively complete) and imperfective (or relatively incom-

plete) aspectual meaning. Not only that but verb-verb se-

quences which on the basis of the grammaticalization of

one of the members alone might be included among the com-

pound verbs are on the basis of this semantic property

excluded. That is, the criteria 'sensitivity to negation'

(3.3.2) and 'expression of relative completion' yield us

parallel results if we use either one of them to define

the set of compound verbs.

   Since this is the only generalization we make here

which extends to all compound verbs[3] and since it is one

that has class-discriminating power we set out the data

on which it is made in full: a <u>jab tak</u>...<u>tab tak</u>...-sen-

tence for each of the vector verbs showing I, that the

1/ <u>jaa</u> 'go' and <u>cal</u> in the sense of 'leave' have both of
   them the same compound counterpart: <u>cal@ jaa</u>.

2/ There is another <u>jab tak</u>...<u>tab tak</u>...-construction of
   quite different meaning and having quite different re-
   strictions on verb manifestation: see 4.3.3.5.

3/ And which has to do with semantics. We do not wish to
   claim that there are no others, of course.

Positive Evidence	jab tak [Simple verb]	tab tak [cv]
	relatively incomplete	relatively complete
Negative evidence	jab tak * cv	*tab tak [simple verb]

vector in question may not occur in the jab tak-clause;
II, that it may occur in the tab tak-clause; and III,
that the corresponding simple verb may not occur in the
tab tak-clause. Since we use the second sentence of each
set in section 4.2.1 as the basis for the relevant jab
tak- and tab tak-clauses wherever possible, we have in
most cases omitted glosses.

b 1   jab tak wo injan harkat mE le aayaa *pb Wg

  2   laayaa +gpb

        tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa[4]

b 3 4 jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak wo injan harkat

        mE le aayaa thaa +gpb   laayaa thaa *gpb

c 1 2 jab tak sabzii pak aaii[5] *gp   pakii +gp

        tab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa gayaa thaa

c 3 4 jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak sabzii

        pak aaii thii +gp (*ab)   pakii thii *g   Up

c 1 2 by the time the vegetable had gotten nearly cooked

        i had already gotten there

c 3 4 by the time i got there the vegetable had already

        nearly cooked

d 1   jab tak Sokgrast aurat apne kapRe phaaR uThii *gpb

  2   jab tak Sokgrast aurat ne apne kapRe phaaRe +gpb

        tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

4/ The tab tak-clause is to be construed for both b1-b2.

5/ Set c deals with vector aa while set b deals with a
   rather exceptional sequence. See 4.2.1.fn 1.

```
d       jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak Sokgrast aurat

  3     apne kapRe phaaR uThii thii +gpb

  4     ne apne kapRe phaaRe the *gb   Up

e       ek aadmii ko apnii taraf aataa huaa dekh kar jab

  1     tak xargoS bhaag khaRaa huaa *gpb

  2                   bhaagaa +gpb

        tab tak aadmii lauT paRaa thaa

e       jab tak aadmii lauTaa tab tak use apnii taraf

  3     aataa huaa dekh kar xargoS bhaag khaRaa huaa thaa

  4     +gpb                      bhaagaa thaa *gb Up

        (aadmii lauT paRaa 'the man turned back')

f 1     jab tak sAAR hamaare makaan mE ghus calaa *gpb

  2                              ghusaa +gpb

        tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

f       jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak sAAR hamaare

  3 4   makaan mE ghus calaa thaa +gpb ghusaa thaa *gb Up

g 1     jab tak wo apnii gharwaalii ko bhii maar calaa *gp
                                                        *b
  2     jab tak us ne apnii gharwaalii ko bhii maaraa +gpb

        tab tak pulis wahAA pahUc gaii thii (see 4.2.2.b)

g       jab tak pulis wahAA pahUcii tab tak

  3     wo apnii gharwaalii ko bhii maar calaa thaa +gpb

  4     us ne apnii gharwaalii ko bhii maaraa thaa *gb  Up

h 1     jab tak riitaa gaay kaa goSt khaa cukii *gPb

  2     jab tak riitaa ne gaay kaa goSt khaayaa +gpb

        tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa
```

h   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak

  3   riitaa gaay kaa goSt <u>khaa cukii thii</u> +gpb

  4   riitaa ne gaay kaa goSt <u>khaayaa thaa</u> *gb   Up

i 1   jab tak us ne apne pati ko Saraabii <u>banaa choRaa</u>

  2   *gpb   <u>banaayaa</u> +gpb

       tab tak wo buuRhaa ho gayaa thaa

i   jab tak us kaa pati buuRhaa huaa tab tak us ne

  3   us ko Saraabii <u>banaa choRaa thaa</u> +gpb

  4   <u>banaayaa thaa</u> *gp   Ub

       (wo buuRhaa ho gayaa 'he became an old man')

j 1   jab tak mAI ne is baat ko <u>suljhaa kar choR diyaa</u>

  2   *gpb   <u>suljhaa kar choRaa</u>[6] *g

                                          +pb

  3   <u>suljhaayaa</u> +gpb

       tab tak pAAc baj gae the

j   jab tak pAAc baje tab tak mAI ne is baat ko

  4   <u>suljhaa kar choR diyaa thaa</u> +gb *p

  5   <u>suljhaa kar choRaa thaa</u>[7] +g   *pb

  6   <u>suljhaayaa thaa</u> *g   Upb

       (pAAc baj gae 'it struck five')

6/ The inadmissability of j2 (as well as z-2) is another
   piece of evidence that distinguishes compound verbs
   in <u>kar</u> from conjunct sequences in <u>kar</u>:
   a   jab tak mAI raam ko sTeSan par <u>choR kar aayaa</u> +gp
       tab tak pAAc baj gae the   +ab
   Speaker p's acceptance of j2 follows from 3.6.3.d1: Kp

7/ See footnote 6 above and contrast j5 (and z-5) with:
       jab tak pAAc baje tab tak mAI raam ko sTeSan par
   a b <u>choR kar aayaa thaa</u> *gb Wp   <u>choR aayaa thaa</u> +gpb
      by the time it struck five i had come from leav-
      ing ram at the station

k 1   jab tak raam fenii <u>pii gayaa</u> *gapb

  2   jab tak raam ne fenii <u>pii</u> +gapb

      tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

k   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak

  3   raam fenii <u>pii gayaa thaa</u> +gapb

  4   raam ne fenii <u>pii thii</u> *ga   Upb

L 1   jab tak mariiz <u>khaRaa ho gayaa</u> *gapb

  2   <u>khaRaa huaa</u> +gapb

      tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

L   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa

  3   tab tak mariiz <u>khaRaa ho gayaa thaa</u> +gapb

  4   <u>khaRaa huaa thaa</u> Dgapb[8]

m 1   jab tak raadhaa ne raam kii ciTThii <u>paRh Daalii</u>

  2   *gapb   <u>paRhii</u> +gapb

      tab tak wo wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

m   jab tak raam wahAA pahUcaa tab tak

  3   raadhaa ne us kii ciTThii <u>paRh Daalii thii</u> +gpb
                                   OKa
  4   <u>paRhii thii</u> *ga   Upb

n 1 2   jab tak wo <u>cillaa dii</u> *gapb   <u>cillaaii</u> +gapb

      tab tak bhuut gum ho gayaa thaa

n   jab tak bhuut gum huaa tab tak wo

  3 4   <u>cillaa dii thii</u> +gpb OKa <u>cillaaii thii</u> *ga   Upb

      (bhuut gum ho gayaa 'the ghost disappeared')

---

[8] Although <u>khaRaa huaa thaa</u> is acceptable here it expresses not an act but a state. That is, <u>thaa</u> is the main verb and <u>khaRaa huaa</u> is a predicate adjective:
  a   the patient was standing until i got there

o 1   jab tak us ne mujhe paise <u>de diye</u>[9] *gapb

  2   <u>diye</u> +gapb

       tab tak pAAc baj gae the

o   jab tak ham yahAA aae tab tak us ne mujhe paise

  3 4 <u>de diye the</u> +gapb   <u>diye the</u> *ga   Upb

p   jab tak pahlwaan ne apne pratidwandwii ko

  1 2 <u>dabaa dharaa</u> *?g *b   +p <u>dabaayaa</u> +gpb

       tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

p   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak pahlwaan ne

  3   apne pratidwandwii ko <u>dabaa dharaa thaa</u> +gpb

  4   <u>dabaayaa thaa</u> *g Upb

q 1   jab tak ahmad yahAA se <u>cal niklaa</u>[10] *gpb

  2   <u>calaa</u> +gpb

       tab tak pAAc baj gae the

q   jab tak pAAc baje tab tak ahmad yahAA se

  3 4 <u>cal niklaa thaa</u> +gpb <u>calaa thaa</u> *gb ·Ap

r   braaso lagaa lagaa kar jab tak us kii talwaar

  1 2 <u>camak niklii</u>[11] *gb +p <u>camkii</u> +gpb

       tab tak us ke haath burii tarah chil gae the

r   jab tak us ke haath braaso lagaa lagaa kar chile

  3   tab tak us kii talwaar xuub <u>camak niklii thii</u> +gpb

  4   <u>camkii thii</u> *g   Upb

9/ See section 4.2.1.fn 4.

10/ See section 4.2.1.fn 5.

11/ See section 3.6.6, sentence q. (us ke haath burii.

```
s  1    jab tak raam ne gaNit kaa praSn suljhaa nikaalaa

   2    *gb    +p                       suljhaayaa +gb Wp

        tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

s       jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak raam ne gaNit

   3    kaa praSn suljhaa nikaalaa thaa +gpb

   4             suljhaayaa thaa *g     Upb

t       Daakuu kaa cuTkalaa sun kar jab tak mAI

  1 2   hAs paRaa *gapb          hAsaa +gapb

        tab tak wo bhaag niklaa thaa

t       jab tak Daakuu ne cuTkalaa puuraa kiyaa tab tak

  3 4   mAI hAs paRaa thaa +gp OKa hAsaa thaa *ga     Upb
                            +b
        (wo bhaag niklaa 'he ran away'; Daakuu ne cuT-

        kalaa puuraa kiyaa 'the dacoit finished his

        story')

u       jab tak mohan mumbaapurii kaa darwaazaa khol

   1    paayaa tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa +gp¹²
                                                   *ab
        jab tak mohan ne mumbaapurii kaa darwaazaa

   2    kholaa tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa +gapb

u       jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak

   3    mohan mumbaapurii kaa darwaazaa khol paayaa thaa

        +gpb ?a     Ap    Up

   4    mohan ne mumbaapurii kaa darwaazaa kholaa thaa

        *ga    Upb
```

12/ paa (along with sak) as 'anti-vector verb' is able
to occur in jab tak-clauses. See discussion in sec-
tion 3.2.6.

190

```
v 1      pulis ko dekh kar jab tak wo uTh baiThii *gab Wp

  2                                  uThii +gapb

         tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

v        jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak pulis ko dekh

  3 4    kar wo uTh baiThii thii +gpb uThii thii *gab JTp
                                OKa
w 1      jab tak haraamxor saalan  khaa maraa *gapb

  2      jab tak haraamxor ne saalan khaayaa +gapb

         tab tak pAAc baj gae the

w        jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak haraamxor

  3      saalan khaa maraa thaa +gpb      O?a

  4      ne saalan khaayaa thaa *ga       Upb

x 1      jab tak baap ne use ghar se bhagaa maaraa *?g  *pb

  2                                  bhagaayaa +gpb

         tab tak wo biimaar ho gayaa thaa

x        jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak baap ne use

  3      ghar se bhagaa maaraa thaa +pb  Og

  4             bhagaayaa thaa *g     Upb

y 1      jab tak mAI ne upaay soc rakhaa *gb  Wp

  2                            socaa +gpb

         tab tak pulis wahAA pahUc gaii thii

y        jab tak pulis wahAA pahUcii tab tak mAI ne upaay

  3 4    soc rakhaa thaa +gb Kp       socaa thaa *g   Upb

z        jab tak us ne apnii dilcasp baatO se sab ko

  1 2    hAsaa kar rakh diyaa *gpb   hAsaa kar rakhaa *gpb[13]
```

13/ See footnote 6 above.

z 3   hAsaayaa +gpb

       tab tak mAI wahAA se calaa gayaa thaa

z   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne apnii

   4   dilcasp baatO se sab ko hAsaa kar rakh diyaa thaa

   5   +gpb   hAsaa kar rakhaa thaa *pb
                                                        Og
   6   .   hAsaayaa thaa *g   Upb

       (mAI wahAA se calaa gayaa 'i went away from there

aa 1 2 jab tak wo palang par so rahii *gb   soii +gb

       tab tak mAI wahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

aa   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak wo palang par

   3 4 so rahii thii +gb   soii thii *g   Ub

aa 3 4 by the time i got there she had gone to sleep

       on the bed

ab   apne pati ke dehaant kii xabar sun kar jab tak wo

   1 2 ro lii *gapb   roii +gapb

       tab tak mAI wahAA se cal diyaa thaa

ab   jab tak mAI wahAA se calaa tab tak apne pati ke

   3   dehaant kii xabar sun kar wo ro lii thii +gapb

   4   roii thii *ga   Upb

       (mAI wahAA se cal diyaa 'i left there')

ac 1   jab tak raajaa ne taswiir banaa lii *gapb

   2   banaaii +gapb

       tab tak das mahiine biit gae the (see 4.2.c2)

ac   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak raajaa ne tas-

   3 4 wiir banaa lii thii +gapb banaaii thii *ga   Upb

       (das mahiine biit gae 'ten months went by')

ad 1   jab tak wo saarii mahfil <u>rijhaa le gaii</u> *gab +p

   2   jab tak us ne saarii mahfil <u>rijhaaii</u> +g OKa Wp

      tab tak paanii barasne lagaa thaa

ad   jab tak paanii barsaa tab tak

   3   wo saarii mahfil <u>rijhaa le gaii thii</u> +gabp

   4   us ne saarii mahfil <u>rijhaaii thii</u> *gabp

      (paanii barasne lagaa 'it began to rain')

ae 1   jab tak mohan darwaazaa <u>toR sakaa</u> +g[14] *b

   2   jab tak mohan ne darwaazaa <u>toRaa</u> +gb

      tab tak pulis wahAA pahUc gaii thii

ae   jab tak pulis wahAA pahUcii tab tak

   3   mohan darwaazaa <u>toR sakaa thaa</u> +gb   (*ap)

   4   mohan ne darwaazaa <u>toRaa thaa</u> *g   Ub

      From sentence sets u and ae we may observe that
the <u>jab tak</u>-clause permits the presence of the 'anti-
vectors' <u>paa</u> and <u>sak</u> and thus discriminates them from
the vectors as such. Other verb-verb sequences in which
the second element is grammaticalized[35] are distinguish-
able from vector sequences by their inability to occur
in the <u>tab tak</u>-clause:

af   jab tak wo pahUcii tab tak mAI khaanaa <u>khaae hue</u>

      <u>thaa</u> * gap   +b   (see 3.4.3.r)

      i had already eaten by the time she arrived

ag   jab tak bhaaSaN Suruu huaa tab tak raam ye baa-

      tE <u>kahtaa rahaa thaa</u> *gap   (Upb)

ag   ram had kept saying these things by the time
the speech started

Of course, we would not expect the -t@ rah of ag to be
admissible here since its function is not to express
the completion of the action denoted by the main verb
relative to some other action, but precisely the non-
completion of such action relative to some other action.
As in:

ah   jab tak bhaaSaN Suruu ho na gayaa tab tak raam
ye baatE kahtaa rahaa thaa +gapb
ram had kept saying these things until the speech
started[15]

However, -t@ rah in those idioms where it expresses com-
pletion rather than continuation is an exception:

ai   jab tak yuddh xatam huaa tab tak nek log is duni-
yaa se jaate rahe the +gpb   (see 3.4.3.g)
by the time the war was over all the virtuous
people had disappeared from this world

aj   jab tak raam ne botal xaalii kii tab tak us kaa
sankoc jaataa rahaa thaa +gb ?p (see 3.4.3.f)
by the time ram had emptied the bottle his ill-
ease had departed him

The -t@ rah in ai and aj must therefore be classed as
(an idiomatic[16]) vector verb.

15/ This type of 'until'-construction is discussed fur-
    ther in section 4.3.3.5.

194

The grammaticalized element <u>rah@ h-</u> 'be -ing' is also excluded from the class of vector verbs by its inability to express relatively complete action:

ak   kal jab tak raat Dhalii tab tak wo wahAA <u>aa ra-</u>
      <u>haa thaa</u> *gapb

he was coming there by the time it got light[17]

<u>rah@ h-</u> like <u>-t@ rah</u> expresses <u>incompletion</u> of an activity relative to another action. As such both <u>rah@ h-</u> and <u>-t@ rah</u> are to be considered neither perfective nor zero-aspect (unmarked) forms but rather marked imperfective forms.[18]

As we have remarked before[19] there is a degree of functional parallelism between the compound verb and the conjunct verb with <u>kar</u> deleted on the one hand and the simple verb and the conjunct with undeleted <u>kar</u> on-the other:

al 1   jab tak wo <u>kah aayaa</u> ki aaj raam aaEge *gab Wp

  2   <u>kah kar aayaa</u> ki aaj raam aaEge +gapb

    tab tak raam xud pahUc gae the

    by the time he got back from announcing ram would come that very day ram himself had arrived

---

<u>17/</u> Contrast this with:
    a kal jab tak raat Dhalii tab tak wo wahAA <u>aa</u>
       <u>gayaa thaa</u> +gapb
       he had come by the time it got light yesterday

<u>18/</u> There are differences of course in the types of imperfectiveness each of these forms may express.

al   jab tak raam xud pahUce tab tak wo

  3   <u>kah aaii thii</u> ki we aaj aaEge +gapb

  4   <u>kah kar aaii thii</u> ki we aaj aaEge *ab   Vg   JTp

 (5   <u>kah kar aa gaii thii</u> ki we aaj aaEge +gapb)

      by the time ram himself arrived she'd returned

      from announcing that he would come that day

This suggests that the transformation ("<u>kar</u>-Deletion")
discussed in section 3.2.1 is governed by the presence
of perfective aspect as a feature on the second main
verb. Since the transformation as formulated by Bahl de-
mands the presence of a vector with the second main verb
in order to apply, it follows automatically that such
perfective aspectual features are indeed present. How-
ever, although the form:function parallel between com-
pound verb and <u>kar</u>-less conjunct verb has been in this
way captured by Bahl's formulation, the question of why
such a parallel should exist or of how it might develop
remains open.[20]

In any event given this parallel in form and se-
mantic function, the criterion of grammaticalization is
still required to distinguish compound verbs from con-
junct sequences.

20/ Of course, such a parallel lends further weight to
    the oft-repeated speculation that compound verbs in
    Hindi at some point in time developed from the figu-
    rative use of conjunct sequences. See 3.2.3.fn 12.
    The qualifications we have discussed above on the
    equivalence implied by relating sentences like al-3
    to al-5 via the rule of <u>kar</u>-Deletion may provide in-
    sights into the details of such a figurative usage.

4.3 Environments and the manifestation of the
simple:compound verb

Writers on the Hindi compound verb often seem
unable to decide what if anything governs the choice
of a compound verb over a simple or vice versa:

> "Sometimes the second member of the compound
> may strengthen, intensify, or otherwise affect
> the force of the earlier word, but in many cases
> it does not, but can be only regarded as an al-
> ternative way of saying what would be expressed
> by the simple verb. ... In the following sentence
> ...who can say that lenaa adds any additional
> force?
>> is kaa wo pahle hii Thiik Thiik wicaar
>> kar letaa hai +gapb
>> he gives in the first place a very careful
>> consideration to this matter
> wicaar kartaa hai would give just the same mean-
> ing." 1/

In their attempts to account for this alternation, wri-

ters have ascribed it to a number of variable factors:

I. 'emphasis',[2] II. 'affirmation',[3] III. 'more common

colloquially',[4] 'the turn of the speaker's interest',[5]

1/ Greaves 1933, p 331. However, informants disagree:
   a   is kaa pahle hii Thiik Thiik wicaar kartaa hai # *gb
   See discussion in section 4.3.4.1.   Wap
   Other statements on the apparent optionality of the
   simple:compound alternation: Burton-Page 1957, p 472;
   Bahl 1967, pp 335-9; Poŕízka 1969, pp 35-40; Kellogg,
   paragraph 429; Van Olphen 1970, p 156.

2/ Barker 1967, vol I, p 391.

3/ Southworth 1971, p 121.

4/ Kellogg, paragraph 429 and Southworth 1971, p 121. Re-
   jected by Poŕízka 1969, p 31.

V. 'non-final vs. final clause',[6] VI. 'Stilmittel'.[7]

While it is true that all of these suggestions will

probably turn out to have some bearing on the question

of the distribution of the simple:compound verb, there

has been little or no attempt to collect evidence or

analyse data in support of any one of them. In fact,

the very optionality intuited by many grammarians in

the choice of simple as opposed to compound verb has

never been investigated let alone demonstrated. While

a number of contexts have been noted in which compound

verbs may not occur[8] and one or two attempts have been

made to relate these contexts of non-occurrence to the

supposed functions of the simple:compound opposition,[9]

no attempt has ever been made to discover contexts in

which compound verbs must occur, although one or two

6/ McGregor 1972, p 105:
"A Hindi speaker will often feel that an idea ex-
pressed by means of a simple verb is somehow in-
complete and presupposes something following in
the same sentence, whereas use of a compound verb
rounds off a sentence more effectively."
Similar suggestions are made by Barker 1967, vol I,
p 391, and by Hacker 1958, paragraph 94.

7/ "Die explizierenden Verben sind in gewissen Aus-
mass logisch entbehrlich, obwohl die Aussage, wenn
sie da sind, irgendwie anders ist, als wenn sie
fehlen. Ihre Verwendung hangt weitgehend vom Er-
messen des Sprechers ab. Sie sind Stilmittel."
Hacker 1958, paragraph 93.

8/ See individual 'simple environments' below: 4.3.2.1-9.

9/ See section 4.3.2.1.fn 2.

writers have recognized the possibility of such compound environments and signaled their importance for an ultimate understanding of the compound verb.[10]   -

Our procedure in this section (4.3) will be to discover, delimit and generalize as many simple and compound environments as possible. Many of the simple and all of the compound environments are being noted here for the first time. From an analysis and comparison of these environments certain further statements will be made concerning the fundamental semantic distinctions that are projected onto the simple:compound opposition and concerning the syntactic conditions that further limit its manifestation. Where possible differences between these semantic distinctions and those ascribed to aspect will be noted.

Unfortunately because of limitations of time and space it has not been possible to check the applicability of these statements to compound verbs containing each of the twenty-four items listed in section 3.6. We have limited our enquiry usually to the three most frequently occurring and semantically least marked vectors: le, de and jaa.

10/ Bahl 1967 speaks of such obligatory occurrence of vector verbs: p 353. In Bahl 1964, he provides some examples of utterances in which a compound verb may not be replaced by a simple. However, it seems he has chosen not to identify the operative factors in those sentences that demand a compound manifestation: p 28.

4.3.1 Neutral environments

For the discussion which follows it is useful to establish a few neutral environments: that is, environments in which either the simple or compound verb may appear with a minimal difference in meaning.[1] To minimize the possibility of there being great variability in implicit elements (depending on the choice simple:compound) preceding or following a given environment, we present the neutral environments in the form of self-contained discourses:[2]

a   A: bataao, aaj subah kyaa huaa?

      B: aaj subah chai baje ek aadmii ne is kamre mE mujhe

 1 2 apnaa naam <u>bataayaa</u> +sdgpb   <u>bataa diyaa</u> +sdgb Wp

      A: tell me what happened this morning

      B: this morning at six o'clock a man told me his name

1/ A difference slight enough to be unrenderable in the English gloss. It seems a priori impossible to rule out the possibility that even in the most neutral environments the use of the compound as opposed to the simple verb (or vice versa) is conditioned by a difference, however minimal, in what the speaker wishes to express. However, since our purpose here is merely to contrast neutral environments with other environments that block either a simple or a compound manifestation of verbs occurring in them, it is enough to find environments that permit either a simple or compound verb in roughly the same meaning. Bahl 1964 presents some similar examples: p 30.

2/ The qualification 'self-contained' should be taken with a grain of salt: speakers were asked to imagine that A walks in, has the given exchange with B (and then walks out) when reporting on acceptability.

take sth with a pinch of salt
"
to think that sth is not likely to be true, believe sth only partly.

in this room

b   A: aaj kyaa huaa, tumhE pataa calaa? hamaare makaan

   1 2 mE ek sAAR <u>ghusaa</u> +dpb Wsg   <u>ghus gayaa</u> +sdgpb

    did you hear what happened today? a bull got

    into our house

c   A: bataao aaj subah kyaa huaa?

   B: aaj subah chai baje hamaare makaan mE ek sAAR

   1 2 <u>ghusaa</u> +db Wsp   *g   <u>ghus gayaa</u> +sdgp Wb

d   A: aaj kyaa huaa tumhE pataa calaa? ek aadmii ne is

   1   kamre mE mujhe apnaa naam <u>bataayaa</u> +sdgpb

   2   <u>bataa diyaa</u> +sdgpb

It may have occurred to the reader that this pro-
cedure of cross-checking environments and utterances
yields not only a class of environments that are neutral
with respect to manifestation but also a class of main
verbs that are neutral with respect to manifestation.[3]
The term 'neutral' might be more accurately defined as
'indeterminate enough to accommodate with fair ease what-
ever change in meaning may be occasioned by replacing a
compound verb with its corresponding simple or vice ver-
sa'. That there are such changes in meaning is of course
the basic assumption on which this research is under-
taken.

3/ See the discussion of 'simplicia tantum' and 'compo-
   sita tantum' in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

4.3.2 Simple environments *(i·e· those prefering SV)*

Simple environments are those which do not permit the expression of an activity by means of a compound verb at all or which strongly prefer ('sound much better with') a simple verb. We limit ourself here to an enumeration and analysis of simple environments which call for finite verb forms.[1]

4.3.2.1 Simple environments: negative expressions

That compound verbs do not occur in most types of negative expressions is one of the most frequently noticed properties of their syntax.[1] The number of writers who have in any way attempted to give some sort of explanation for this phenomenon is considerably less.[2]

1/ Pray (mimeo), pp 7-8, discusses some non-finite simple environments: stative participles and continuative participles (baiThaa huaa aadmii 'the seated man' and aataa huaa aadmii 'the coming man' are respective examples). It is on the inadmissability of the compound verb in such participial forms that he bases his suggestion that 'perhaps compound stems are the only truly aspectual forms in the verbal system...' (p 8)

1/ Barker 1967, vol I, p 392; Burton-Page 1957, p 472; Davidova 1958, p 229; Gaeffke 1967, pp 13-38; Hacker 1958, paragraph 94; Harley, p 61; McGregor 1972, p 104; Pahwa, p 245; Pořízka 1967, p 72; Pray 1970, p 139; Pray (mimeo), pp 8-9; Singh 1968, p 3; Van Olphen 1970, p 154; and Verma 1968, p 71.

2/ Six in all: Gaeffke, Hacker, Pahwa, Pray, Pořízka and Verma.

These explanations can be divided roughly into two groups: the 'semantic conflict theories' and the 'formal gap theories'.

In explanations of the first type there are sharp restrictions on the co-occurrence of compound verbs and negative elements because of a conflict or contradiction in the meaning of vector verbs as a class and negation:

> "Verneinungen schliessen gewoehnlich eine entfaltete, konturierte Vorstellung des Geschehens aus. Daher wird die verneinende Antwort auf die soeben genannte Frage immer lauten: nahII aayaa, ohne Hilfsverb." 3/

Pahwa cites the 'idea of finality and completion' in a compound verb as being incompatible with negation.[4] Verma compares the non-occurrence of compound verbs in negative expressions with their incompatibility with limiter hii[5] and speculates that this may be a reflection of their 'comparatively definite flavor' conflicting with the 'affective' nature of such expressions.[6]

3/ Hacker 1958, paragraph 94. Quite like Hacker's is the explanation put forward by Gaeffke 1967:
> "...eine Verneinung 'gewoehnlich eine entfaltete konturierte Vorstellung des Geschehens' ausschliesst. Explikative Hilfsverben (= vectors PH) hingegen geben dem Geschehen, das durch den finiten Verbalstamm einer Hilfsverbverbindung (z. B. choR denaa) in allgemeiner Weise bezeichnet wird, ein hohes Mass an Bestimmtheit. Das verbietet ihre Verwendung in verneinten Saetzen.": p 13.

4/ P 245.

5/ See discussion below in section 4.3.2.2.

6/ Verma 1968, pp 71 and 75.

Those[7] who subscribe to the 'formal gap theory' connect the relative paucity of negated compound verbs with the absence of a negative conjunctive participle in Hindi. That is, instead of

a 1   wo dastaane <u>na pahn kar aayaa</u>[8] *gpb

       he came without (putting on) his gloves

as the negative counterpart of

b   wo dastaane <u>pahn kar aayaa</u> +gpb

       he came with his gloves (put on)

one usually finds:

   2   wo <u>binaa</u> dastaane <u>pahne aayaa</u> +pb   OKg

Assuming that the compound verb has developed from conjunctive constructions like that of b[9], one is to conclude that the restriction on negation of the former derives from a parallel restriction on the latter.

       With regard to the semantic conflict theories as proposed by Hacker, etc., one must state that it is hard to see why negation should conflict with the meanings they ascribe to the vector verb (and, hence, to the compound). As Pray puts it:[10]

7/ Pray (mimeo), p 9.

8/ Other languages in the area do have negative conjunctive participles. Pray (mimeo) cites Nepali <u>nagarera</u> 'not having done' corresponding to a hypothetical <u>na kar ke</u> in Hindi: p 9.

9/ See above, section 3.2.3, fn 12.

10/ Pray (mimeo), p 9.

> "...it seems quite possible to conceive of nega-
> tion of a perfective act: 'he ate up the food/
> he didn't eat up the food'."

Similarly it is not at all inevitable that the idea of

finality (Pahwa) or Bestimmtheit (Hacker, Gaeffke) should

be incompatible with negation.

In turn the formal gap theory has its shortcom-

ings. In the first place the non-existence of the con-

junctive participle in negated form is not borne out by

observation. We find utterances like:

c   wo dastaane pahn kar nahII aayaa (abk 117) +gpb

      he came without (putting on) his gloves (see al-2)

where from context it is clear that it is not the act of

coming (aa) but that of putting on (pahn) which comes

under the scope of the negative element (nahII). One may

also find overtly negated conjunctive participles of the

type whose existence Pray denies:[11]

d   wo kuch na kah kar gaaRii se baahar dekhne lagaa

      not answering he began to look out (the window)

      of the car (abk 189) +gpb

And even negated conjunct participles with deleted kar:

e   subah uThne par pataa calaa ki raatOraat wo laR-

      kii ghar se jaane kahAA calii gaii hai. baap ko

11/ Not to be confused with negations of conjunctive
participles that do not express conjunction:
a us kaa abhinay, abhinay na ho kar, kewal cehre
  kaa wyaayaam thaa (abk 222) +gpb
  her acting was not really acting at all but only
  the (mechanical) exercising of the face
These are discussed in Dwarikesh 1971, pp 137-138.

bhii apnaa ataa-pataa <u>nahII de gaii</u>[12] +pgb

e   when we got up the next morning we found out the girl had left in the middle of the night for parts unknown. she'd left without giving her address to her father even. (abk 185)

Conversely, if the paucity of negated compound verbs in Hindi derives from the absence of a negative conjunctive participle, then it would follow that in languages that do have such a participle one would expect to find negated compound verbs freely occurring. Unfortunately we are unable to give data bearing on this point from Indian languages known to possess such a negative conjunctive participle (Nepali, Tamil, etc.). However, Tajiki, an Eastern Iranian dialect possessing both a negative conjunctive participle and a system of compound verbs remarkably similar to that of Hindi[13], has what appear to be identical restrictions on the occurrence of negated compound verbs.[14]

12/ It should be noted that sentence e is uttered by an uneducated woman who is probably a native speaker of Panjabi (<u>Thakuraain</u>).

13/ First noted by Masica 1971, pp 188-99. Readers wishing to investigate this striking resemblance further should turn to Rastorgueva and Kerimova, pp 211-88.

14/ a ба рох даромад ва ба акибаш <u>нигох накарда</u> рафтан гирифт (Rastorgueva and Kerimova, p 165) he went out into the street and began to go away without looking behind him
Here <u>нигох накарда</u> is a negative conjunctive participle whose literal morph-by-morph equivalent in Hin-

In sum, neither the semantic conflict nor the formal gap theories as these have been presented up to now seem to afford a particularly felicitous explanation of the absence of freely occurring negative compound verbs. It appears to this writer that of the two types, some form of semantic conflict theory is the more likely to provide such an explanation. Perhaps if it could be shown that all (or nearly all) negative statements express the non-performance of an activity relative to the performance of some other activity (that is, negative statements are always made in opposition to positive ones whereas the converse does not necessarily hold), then the expression of 'relative completion' that we propose as the function of the compound verb might very well be shown to be in essential conflict with negation. However, we offer this as little more than speculation and suggestion for an avenue of thinking about the problem.

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di would be nigaah na-kar-ke 'having not looked'. Rastorgueva and Kerimova's comments on negated compound verbs in Tajiki parallel those of Gaeffke on Hindi:
"Отрицание при сложнодеепричастных глаголах в основном возможно в том случае, когда глагол выражает не подлинно реальное действие, а действие представляемое, подразумеваемое, желаемое и пр."
Rastorgueva and Kerimova 1964, p 280.
"...der groessere Teil (der verneinten Bestimmtheitsformen) drueckt Absichten, Aufforderungen, Gewuenschtes oder sogar Nichtgeschehenes (Reue) aus.": Gaeffke 1967, p 36.
We shall have occasion to cite some of the parallel data from Tajiki in our discussion of the individual

4.3.2.1.1 Negated compound verbs: Gaeffke's work

Among the numerous writers[1] who have observed
that under certain conditions negation and compound mani-
festation may co-occur, Gaeffke is the one who has writ-
ten at greatest length and detail.[2] In his monograph he
collects a great number of negated compound verbs and
attempts to account for them. Although Gaeffke's is an
important and pioneering piece of research, it has sev-
eral shortcomings: Almost all the examples of negated
compound verbs have been culled from the works of Prem-
chand. Many of these are not accepted by modern educa-
ted speakers of Hindi (unless they are told the examples
are from Premchand). His account relies to a large ex-
tent on psychological explanations of particular utter-
ances.[3] One would like a more general, simpler, and more

1/ Barker 1967, vol I, p 392; Burton-Page 1957, p 473;
Davidova 1958, p 229; Hacker 1958, paragraph 94, ex-
amples in paragraphs 68-9; McGregor 1972, p 104; Pah-
wa, p 245; Porizka 1967 gives examples, p 229; Pray
1970, p 157, fn 24; Pray (mimeo), pp 10-11; Van Ol-
phen 1970, p 155.

2/ In Gaeffke 1967, pp 13-38. Reviewed by Kachru in Lan-
guage, vol 46:4, pp 968-75; criticized in part by Van
Olphen 1970, p 155; and discussed in Pray (mimeo), pp
10-11.

3/ For instance, on bhuul na jaaiegaa (p 14):
"Wird der Mann in der Lage sein, ueber seine Ge-
fuehle Herr zu werden? Der weitere Verlauf des
Romanes zeigt, welch schreckliche Folgen der Aus-
bruch der Leidenschaft unter diesen Menschen hat."

predictive account. Gaeffke's classification of environ-
ments permitting negated compound verbs is totally based
on his analysis of their semantics; syntax is not con-
sidered. Environments that belong together are kept sep-
arate[4] and those of entirely different types are occa-
sionally lumped together[5]. However, although he wrongly
excludes certain classes of negated compound verbs from
his concluding generalization[6] it is in consonance with
a view of the compound verb as expressing completion:
"...stellen die Saetze der uebrigen Beispielgruppen (der
verneinten Bestimmtheitsformen) nichtverneintes Gesche-
hen dar." (p 36)

In the sub-sections which follow we discuss those
examples from Gaeffke's collection which our more mani-
pulative approach to the data may further elucidate. In
general our goal will be to give an objective demonstra-
tion that the overall sense of a sentence having a nega-
ted compound verb is positive or that the corresponding

For further examples of such particularistic ex post
facto exegesis see 4.3.2.1.2.fn 2 and 4.3.2.1.4.fn 6.

4/ Sections B, C and D, for instance, contain examples
that may all be considered denials of an implied or
explicit positive statement. (See section 3.3.2)

5/ The ninth example on page 18 of Gaeffke 1967 most
certainly does not belong with the eight preceding.

6/ All the examples in pp 16-20 (except the one mentioned
in the preceding footnote) are alike in not expressing
"verneintes Geschehen" (real non-occurrence).

sentence without negation does not express the positive occurrence of an actual event but rather the eventual, contingent or conjectured occurrence of some imagined event.

4.3.2.1.2 Negated compound verbs: future impera-
tives

In section A[1] of his monograph Gaeffke discusses several prohibitives featuring compound verbs:

a   isii tarah sadaa kripaa driSTi rakhiegaa, <u>bhuul</u>
<u>na jaaiegaa</u>, yahii merii winay hai +bdpg
always keep this good will of yours for me, do
not forget, i pray you (pg 14 from n 137)

b   (rassii) <u>choR na diijiegaa</u> +bdpg
please do not let go (of the rope) (pg 15 from r
306)

Gaeffke's explanation for the compound verb in these instances rely as elsewhere on after-the-fact psychological analysis.[2] As a result much more general syntactic

---

1/ "Apotropaeische Sprachgesten", pp 14-20.

2/ In a and b "...durch die Wahl der Verben <u>choRnaa</u> und <u>bhuulnaa</u> in den angefuehrten Zusammenhaengen wird die Abweichung vom Erwarteten, das unheilvolle Missverhalten ins Bewusstsein gerueckt, und gerade das hofft der Sprecher durch eine nachdrueckliche Verneinung abzuwenden. ...die Moeglichkeit des unheilvollen Geschehens dem Sprecher drohend vor Augen steht.": p 16.

restrictions on the occurrence of compound verbs in pro-
hibitions are ignored.

Manipulation of the forms in a and b yields very
interesting constraints: Compound prohibitives occur in
-iegaa and in -naa with complete freedom, in -ie nearly
as freely, and for very few speakers in -o or -∅:[3]

c d 1   bhuul na jaaiegaa +sdpgb   choR na diijiegaa +sdpgb

    2   bhuul na jaanaa +sdpgb   choR na denaa +sdpgb

    3   bhuul na jaaie +spgb *d   choR na diijie +spg   *db

    4   bhuul na jaao *dg ?p +s choR na do *dgb   Wp   +s
                 Wb

    5   bhuul na jaa *dgpb +s   choR na de *dgb   +sp

Prohibitives in -o and -∅ permit usually only a simple
manifestation of the verb:

c d 6   na bhuulo +sdgb OKp   na choRo +sdpgb

    7   na bhuul +dgb *sp[4]   na choR +sdpgb

It is a matter of interest that the ability of an impera-
tive form to occur negative compound correlates with its
inability to refer to present time. Forms in -iegaa,
-naa (and -ie[5]) are used to order (or prohibit) the per-

3/ Unless the speaker provides kahII:
   a   kahII tum yah bhuul na jaao +gb
       if only you don't forget this
       See discussion of expressions of fear, 4.3.2.1.3.

4/ Speaker p prefers: mat bhuul

5/ Thus the implicit tense of these forms does not cor-
    respond to the level of respect traditionally associ-
    ated with them (aap vs. tum vs. tuu) nor with the de-
    gree of abruptness (-iegaa and -naa are considered to
    be less abrupt than -ie and -o and -∅).

formance of an act at some time in the future; forms in
-o and -∅ (and in -ie), for the immediate present:

e   yah baat abhii na bhuulo, baad mE

  1 2 bhuul jaao *sdb Wp +g bhuul jaanaa +sdpgb

       do not forget this thing now, forget it later

f 1   abhii na choRie, baad mE choRie *db +spg

  2   choRiegaa +spdgb

  3   abhii na choRo, baad mE choRo *sdpb +g

  4   choRnaa +sdpgb

       don't let go now, let go later

       Thus the prohibitive of a compound verb may refer
only to the non-performance of eventual acts (as in set
h), not to that of actual ones (as in set g):

g   kyaa ho rahaa hai, bhaaii? itnaa Sor

  1 2 na macaanaa *sdgb Wp macaa na denaa *sdpgb

  3 4 na macaao +sdpgb   macaa na do *sdpgb

       mAI tang huaa jaa rahaa hUU

       what's going on, man? stop making so much racket!

       i'm going out of my mind

h 1 2 kal itnaa Sor na macaao *sdpgb macaa na do *sdgb[6]

  3 4 na macaanaa +sdpgb   na macaa denaa +sdpgb

  5   macaa na denaa +pg   Od (if h5 is non-final: +b)

       watch out you don't make so much noise tomorrow

6/ Speaker p finds h2 "OK". There may be an unconscious
   contamination of the response here by the accepta-
   bility of corresponding clauses in kahII: see foot-
   note three above.

4.3.2.1.3 Negated compound verbs: expressions of fear

A great many of the examples Gaeffke considers in the first section of his monograph[1] contain or imply the element kahII, meaning roughly 'lest' or 'in case':

a   ekaaek munSiijii ke man mE praSn uThaa: kahII

       mansaaraam un ke bhaawO ko taaR to nahII gayaa

       +bsdgp

       suddenly it occurred to munshi ji to wonder

       whether ('lest') mansaram might not have guessed

       what his feelings were (pg 19 from n 98)

b   meraa dil kAAp rahaa thaa ki kahII swaamii sacmuc

       aatmaghaat na kar lE +sdbpg

       i was worried to death that swami might really

       commit suicide (pg 17 from k 183)

It would appear that the negatives in these sentences are redundant elements. Indeed Kachru (1970) in her review of Gaeffke 1967 asks if sentences like a and b "...are instances of what Gaeffke labels negative sentences, the question arises what are the affirmative counterparts."[2] Deletion of the negative element in some cases is pos-

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1/ Subsections b), c) and d) of section A: "Apotropae-
ischen Sprachgesten", pp 16-20.

2/ P 970. Kachru is not correct in stating that"kahII...
na does not collocate with definite tenses such as
present, past and future": p 970. See sentence a.

sible with little change in meaning:[3]

c   ekaaek munSiijii ke man mE praSn uThaa: kahII

1   mansaaraam (ne) un ke bhaawO ko <u>taaR gayaa</u> +sd
                                                   *bpg

2   (<u>taaRaa</u>[4] +d *bpg)

suddenly it occurred to munshi ji to wonder whe-

ther mansaram might have guessed what his feel-

ings were[5]

One would like to be able to explain the presence

of such negatives: What is their source? And why are they

found in expressions of fear and anxiety? Although this

is not the place for an extended discussion of these

questions[6] we should like to present a few suggestions

that may contribute (even if only as a <u>puurwapakS</u>) to an

eventual solution.

In Hindi utterances expressing the emotional rela-

3/ Some speakers (sd) feel that c1 and 2 differ from a
   in their expressing a slightly more neutral attitude
   in the wonderer (munshi ji) toward the answer to his
   mental question. That is, sentence a connotes a rather
   greater degree of apprehension than c1 and c2.

4/ Deleting the negative element from a demands the dele-
   tion of the adversative particle <u>to</u> as well:
   a   ...kahII mansaaraam (ne) un ke bhaawO ko <u>taaR to</u>
   b c <u>gayaa</u> *bsdgp <u>to taaR gayaa</u> *bsdgp <u>to taaRaa</u> *bsdgp
   The simple manifestation of <u>taaR</u> 'guess' governs the
   agentive particle <u>ne</u> with the agent in the preterite.

5/ It is worth noting perhaps that the negative element
   can be deleted from the English gloss, too, with lit-
   tle change in meaning (certainly not the change from
   negation to affirmation usually encountered).

6/ The question is worth a dissertation in itself given
   the number of languages that differ on this point.

tion of an actor to some event or situation often contain linguistic elements whose English equivalents seem more proper to direct quotation:

d   mujhe yah aaScary huaa ki raam yahAA kyO aayaa

hai +sdbgp

i was surprised that ram had come there (literally: i was surprised that why has ram come here)

e   wo pachtaa rahii thii ki mAI itnii der baiThii

kyO rahii +sdbgp

she regretted having waited so long to act (literally: she was regretting that why did i sit so

long)

Thus in Hindi, unlike English, the complements of such affectual expressions as aaScary ho 'be surprised' and pachtaa 'regret' imitate the typical utterances of those undergoing the affect:

f   raam yahAA kyO aayaa hai? +sdbgp

why did ram come here?

(may be an expression of surprise: +sdpg   *p)

g   mAI itnii der baiThii kyO rahii? +sdbgp

why did i sit here so long?

(may serve as an expression of regret: +sdbgp)

Similarly we might expect to find the complements of expressions of fear or anxiety doubling as typical utterances of one who fears or trembles:

h   kahII mansaaraam mere bhaawO ko <u>taaR to nahII</u>

     <u>gayaa</u>? +sdbgp

     mansaram hasn't guessed my feelings, has he?

i   kahII swaamii sacmuc aatmaghaat <u>na kar lE</u> +sdbgp

     if only swami doesn't really go ahead and commit

     suicide

Clearly the negative element in these independent utter-

ances is not otiose. It is only their construction with

expressions like <u>dil kAAp</u> which themselves incorporate

a negative semantic element[7] that make the negative ele-

ment they contain appear (to speakers of English, at

least) redundant.[8]

7/ The negative elements in these and other <u>kahII</u>-clauses
   that are the objects or complements of verbs of fear
   or anxiety have been compared by Van Olphen 1970 to
   the expletive <u>ne</u> in French that shows up in object
   clauses of verbs like <u>craindre</u> 'fear, be afraid'. Pray
   (mimeo), p 10, and Gaeffke 1967, p 17, both cite the
   <u>ne</u> governed by Latin <u>timeo</u> 'fear'. In Russian the
   complements of expressions of apprehension exhibit a
   similar redundant element: (Forsyth 1970, p 259)
   a   мать боялась, как бы её сын <u>не</u> заболел[P]
       the mother was afraid her son might become ill
   In German, too, the parallel construction contains an
   expletive negative particle. Gaeffke translates b as:
   b   mein Herz zitterte, dass mein Mann nicht etwa
       tatsaechlich Selbstmord begehe (p 17)
   (Evidently in the context of b, <u>swaamii</u> is being used
   to refer to the husband of the speaker.) Gaeffke para-
   phrases this translation by two sentences conjoined:
   c   mein Herz zitterte (und ich dachte:), dass er sich
       nur nicht tatsaechlich umbringt (p 17)

8/ English is not alone in eschewing this element in pa-
   rallel constructions. It is absent in Spanish, option-
   al in French and, given the translations into German
   that Gaeffke gives of a number of such expressions in
   Hindi (p 18), optional in German as well.

This still leaves the question of the presence
of compound verbs in these sentences open. As answers
we have only the following two observations: I. What is
being negated is not the positive expression of an e-
vent which at the moment of truth failed to occur. Ra-
ther, as in the preceding section, it is an eventual,
unreal, imagined event whose negation is <u>desired</u>, not
reported on.[9] II. Expressions of fear and apprehension
of the type we are considering here are semantically
double-edged. That is, what is being expressed is not
only the fear that X will occur or may already have oc-
curred but also the hope that it will (or has) not. It
may be that the opposed but complementary semantics of
a positive fear and a negative hope may be related to
the presence of two normally mutually exclusive but here
complementary linguistic elements.[10]

9/ Interestingly when it is the non-performance of an
event that is feared; its occurrence, desired; then
the compound verb does not occur, nor does the opta-
tive, nor <u>kahII</u>:
    meraa d̄il k̄AAp rahaa thaa ki swaamii sacmuc aat-
a b maghaat nahII karEge +bgp   na karE Db   *gp
c d <u>kar nahII lEge</u> *bgp   <u>na kar lE</u> Dbgp
    meraa d̄il k̄AAp rahaa thaa ki kahII swaamii sacmuc
e f aatmaghaat <u>nahII karEge</u> *bg +p · <u>na karE</u> Db *g Og
g h <u>kar nahII lEge</u> *bgp   <u>na kar lE</u> Dbgp
    i was worried to death that swami might really
    not commit suicide

10/ In Russian the perfective which in certain negative
environments (prohibition, не надо, не нужно, etc.)
does not or very rarely occurs ̧ in constructions pa-
rallel to those discussed here must occur: Forsyth,
‒‒ ᵌ58 ₆1 ‒ ᵌ97

4.3.2.1.4 Negated compound verbs: with jab tak

In section H[1] of Gaeffke's monograph are instances of negated compound verbs in clauses introduced by jab tak 'until' or 'so long as':

a 1   jab tak un ke haath kaa kaur <u>na paa letii</u> +bsdgp

    khaRii taaktii rahtii (g 111)[2]

    she would just stand there staring in front of

    her until she got a piece from their hand

It should be clear to the reader that the <u>jab tak...</u> clause exemplified here is fundamentally different from that discussed in section 4.2.3. In that case the action expressed by the verb in the <u>jab tak</u>-clause was incomplete relative to that expressed in the <u>tab tak</u>-clause. Here the action expressed by the verb in the <u>jab tak</u>-clause functions as a temporal term <u>ad quem</u> with respect to the action of the other clause. Thus in the <u>jab tak</u>-construction exemplified here we find a reversal of the

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1/ 'Verneinte Nebensaetze fuer Geschehen, das verwirklicht werden soll (Geleubde u. a.)', pp 33-6.

2/ The sentence as quoted by Gaeffke is rather different:

  a   jab tak us ke haath kaa kaur <u>na khaa lete</u> khaRii
       taaktii rahtii (pg 35 from g 113)

  Although the edition before me (Ilahabad, Saraswati Press, 1966) is ten years later than the one used by Gaeffke (Banaras, Saraswati Press, 1956), the version of the sentence he quotes is unacceptable in the context and must be rejected. A casual glance at different editions or even different printings of the same work by Premchand turns up scores of the most appalling divergences, substitutions and deletions.

relation of completion holding between the two clauses.
The action of getting the piece (of fodder) is complete
(or viewed as complete) with respect to the action of
staring.[3] It is perfective.

Although this makes it clear why we find a com-
pound verb in jab tak-clauses of this sort,[4] the pre-
sence of the negative particle remains unexplained. Two
questions suggest themselves: I. Is the negative parti-
cle redundant (cf section 4.3.2.1.2)? II. What permits
it to occur with compound verbs here?

The redundancy or non-redundancy of na in sen-
tence a depends largely on how we choose to translate
jab tak. If we insist on 'until', the na appears to be
otiose; if we use 'so long as', it does not:

unnecessary

a   so long as she didn't get a piece from their

         hand she would just stand there staring in front

         of her

It happens that most speakers do not accept sentence a
without the negative particle:

3/ The temporal relations holding between actions that
   are expressed by jab tak-constructions of all types
   have been cogently and exhaustively described in
   Seguin 1973.

4/ In some cases the verb not only may but must be com-
   pound:
          tab tak muskaraate raho jab tak mAI foTo
   a b khIIc na lUU +gbp   na khIIcUU *gb   Wp
          keep smiling until i take the picture
   In other cases some speakers accept a simple verb:
        jab tak un ko haath kaa kaur na paatii tchn

a 2   jab tak un ke haath kaa kaur <u>paa letii</u> *bsdgp

        khaRii taaktii rahtii

However, a minority of speakers accept sentence a with-

out a negative particle provided the verb in the <u>jab tak-</u>

clause is simple[5]:

a 3   jab tak un ke haath kaa kaur <u>paatii</u> +b ?g Dp *ds

        khaRii taaktii rahtii

        Assuming that the acceptability of a3 does not

simply derive from contamination with the construction

discussed in 4.2.3, we may hypothesize that for those

speakers accepting a3 the introduction of <u>na</u> into an

otherwise compound-verb-resistant <u>jab tak</u>-clause can-

cels this resistance.[5] This evidently stems from the al-

pha-minus-alpha relation between two actions or states

that <u>jab tak</u>-constructions of this type express: the oc-

currence (or non-occurrence) of an action or state X

continues only so long as the occurrence (or non-occur-

rence) of some action or state Y. At that point the va-

lue of the feature OCCURRENCE on each of these actions

(or states) is reversed. Thus the staring of the cow in

sentence a can be seen either as occurring up until she

gets a morsel or as continuing only so long as she does

<u>not</u>. The non-staring of the cow may be seen as beginning

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5/ Suggesting that an environment which is 'simple' on
   two separate counts becomes 'compound' or at least
   no longer resists compound verbs. See the discussion
   of double negatives below at 4.3.2.1.5.

220

either at the point at which she receives (or 'begins

to have') the morsel or the point at which she ceases

not receiving it. The negative compound verb in jab tak-

clauses of this type suggests both of the opposite yet

complementary aspects of the complex temporal relation

they express[6].

<u>6/</u> For other examples of the use of a compound verb to
express semantically double-edged relations, see the
discussion of the Hindi equivalents of 'almost' in
section 4.3.4.3, and of the negated compound with
<u>kahII</u> in expressions of fear and apprehension in
section 4.3.2.1.3.
   In his discussion of <u>jab tak</u>-clauses of this type
Gaeffke gets hopelessly entangled in explanations
based on the individual and particular psychological
motivations of the speaker. For instance, in
a   praN kar liyaa, jab tak candrahaar <u>na ban jaaegaa</u>,
    koii gahnaa na pahnUUgii (pg from Gaban 16)
    she vowed, so long as the chain were not made, she
    would not put on any jewelry
the presence of the negated compound verb is made to
depend on a "...besondere Widersetzlichkeit einer
jungen Frau, die sich darueber aergert, dass ein er-
wuenschtes, besonders teures Schmuckstueck nicht un-
ter ihren Hochzeitsgeschenken war.": p 34. After a
lengthy discussion of Indian marriage customs and
this woman's emotional state, Gaeffke concludes that
"...der...Sprecher wuenscht angelegentlich, dass das
mit dem <u>jab tak</u>-Satz bezeichnete Geschehen sich ver-
wirklichen moege. Auch hier kann man darum ohne wei-
teres von einem bejahenden Nebensinn des Nebensatzes
sprechen, so dass das haeufige Auftreten von Bestimmt-
heitsformen in diesen Nebensaetzen verstaendlich
wird.": p 34. Since any <u>jab tak</u>-clause can as we have
seen above be interpreted either positively or nega-
tively (jab tak mAI <u>mar na jaaUUgaa</u>... 'as long as i
live' or 'until i die') it is hard to see how the ne-
gated compound verb can depend on the presence of a
'bejahenden Nebensinn'.
   Russian has negative particles in the equivalent
construction (as well as the perfective):
b   ЗВОНИТе[I] ПОКа <u>не отвеТЯТ</u>[P]
    ring until they answer (Forsyth, p 133)

4.3.2.1.5 Negated compound verbs: double negatives

In section F of his monograph[1] Gaeffke adduces ex-
amples where a compound verb is in some sense under the
influence of _two_ negative elements. These together cre-
ate a positive, and thus, with respect to the manifes-
tation of the simple:compound verb, a neutral environ-
ment:

a koii wajah nahII ki (lagaan) <u>ghaTaa na diyaa jaae</u>
  (pg 31 from k 376) +bsgp *d

 there is no reason not to reduce (the land rent)
The overall sense of this utterance is affirmative: 're-
duce the rent!'. That each of the two negative elements
in <u>a</u> blocks the occurrence when the other is absent is
evidence that it is their simultaneous or synergistic in-
fluence that creates a compound-verb-receptive environ-
ment:

b koii wajah nahII jis kii wajah se yah kaam <u>kar na</u>
 <u>diyaa jaae</u>[2] +bsdg *p

 there is no reason not to do this

In Tajiki we find negated compound verbs in this clause:
c то ин бача а хона <u>буромада наравад</u>, ороми нест
 there will be no peace until this boy leaves the
 house

[1]/ "Bejahung durch doppelte Verneinung": pp 31-32.

[2]/ Sentence a (the one cited by Gaeffke) had to be modi-
 fied somewhat to allow the independent manipulation
 of its negative elements.

c   koii wajah nahII jis kii wajah se yah kaam

　1 2   <u>kar diyaa jaae</u> *b Wsp +g   <u>kiyaa jaae</u> +bsgp

        there is no reason to do this

Sentence c differs from b in its having only one nega-

tive element, not two. For some speakers the presence

of this one negative element is sufficient to suppress a

compound manifestation of the verb even though it is in

a different clause. If there is a negative element in

the same clause as the verb (and the effect of that ele-

ment is not cancelled by a second negative), then of

course that verb may occur only as a simplex:

d   koii wajah to hai jis kii wajah se yah kaam

　1 2   <u>kar na diyaa jaae</u> *bsgp   <u>na kiyaa jaae</u> +bsg Bp

        there is a reason not to do this

The control sentence allows either manifestation:

e   koii wajah to hai jis kii wajah se yah kaam

　1 2   <u>kar diyaa jaae</u> +bsp Wg   <u>kiyaa jaae</u> +gp

        there is a reason to do this

        We have stated that the compound:simple verb is

in some sense' under the influence of negative elements

to stress that neither the scope nor the restrictions on

such influence is known.[3] This influence appears to be

in some (hopefully definable) respects unbounded and per-

haps amenable only to a transformational account:

3/ In grammatical studies of English the phenomenon is
known as 'negative polarity'.

f   mAI nahII soctaa ki koii wajah hai jis kii wajah

        se yah kaam <u>kar na diyaa jaae</u> +bsg *p

        i don't think there's any reason not to do this

g   mAI nahII soctaa ki koii wajah hai jis kii wajah

  1   se yah kaam <u>kar diyaa jaae</u> *b   Wsg   +p

  2   <u>kiyaa jaae</u> +bsgp

        i don't think there's any reason to do this

In sentence sets f and g the pattern of permitted (or fa-
vored) simple:compound verbs is parallel to that of sets
b and c respectively even though the influencing element
is now two clauses distant. For our purposes the full ac-
count of such influence is not needed; it is enough that
its mere existence be established.

        There are, as Gaeffke himself notes[4], other ele-
ments, not in themselves undeniably negative, which have
an effect on the occurrence of compound verbs similar to
that of overtly negative elements. For example, <u>kam</u> 'few':

h   kam hAI jinhO ne aadhaa lagaan <u>na de diyaa ho</u>

        (pg 31 from k 312) +bsdgp

        there are few who haven't paid their (semi-annual)

        rent

<u>kam</u> like <u>nahII</u> prevents the occurrence of compound verbs
in some types of subordinate clauses unless its influ-

4/ "...sind es noch einige andere Zusammenhaengen...wobei
   in Nebensatz eine Bestimmtheitsform steht. Der Haupt-
   satz braucht dabei nur sinngemaess ein Nichtgeschehen
   oder auch nur ein sehr seltenes Geschehen...": p 31.

ence is canceled by the presence of a negative element'
in such a clause:

i 1   kam log hAI jinhO ne yah kaam <u>na kar diyaa ho</u>

  (2)   +bsgp   *d   (<u>kar na diyaa ho</u> +sdgp   *b)

        there are few who have not done this

j 1   kam log hAI jinhO ne yah kaam <u>kar diyaa ho</u> *bd

  2   +sgp   <u>kiyaa ho</u> +bsdgp

        there are few who have (ever) done this

Contrast the effect of an affirmative adjective such as
<u>do</u> 'two' with that of <u>kam</u>:

k 1   do aadmii hAI jinhO ne yah kaam <u>na kar diyaa</u> *bsdg
                                              *p

  2 (3) <u>na kiyaa</u> +bsd   (<u>nahII kiyaa</u> +gp)

        there are two men who haven't done this

l   do aadmii hAI jinhO ne yah kaam <u>kar diyaa</u> +bsdgp

        there are two men who have done this

        Among these non-negative elements that behave like
negatives are certain interrogative words: <u>kaun</u> 'who',
<u>kyO</u> 'why', etc:

m   kaun hai jis ne yah kaam <u>na kar diyaa ho</u> +bsdgp

        who is there who hasn't done this

n 1   kaun hai jis ne yah kaam <u>kar diyaa ho</u> *bdg   +sp

  2   <u>kiyaa ho</u> +bsd   Wp   *g[5]

        who is there who has (ever) done this

---

[5] Speaker g finds the optative unacceptable here:
  a   kaun hai jis ne yah kaam <u>kar diyaa hai</u> Wg *b +p
  b   <u>kiyaa hai</u> +gpb

o 1 2   kaun <u>aa gayaa</u> *bsdg[6] Dp   kaun <u>aayaa</u> +bsdgp

     who came?

p 1 2   tum kyO <u>aa jaate ho</u> *b Dgp[7] +sd   <u>aate ho</u> +bsdgp

     why do you come?

q   tum kyO <u>nahII aa jaate</u> +bgp

     why don't you come?

Given the tendency of certain interrogative ele-
ments to occur only with the simple verb[8] we have fur-
ther evidence to link their presence with the occurrence
of negated compound verbs in expressions of exhortation,
intention, regret and reproach discussed by Gaeffke with-
out reference to the concept of double negation.[9] However
these remarks are made here more in order to draw atten-
tion to the question of why interrogative elements tend
to behave like negatives with respect to the manifesta-

6/ Note, however, the acceptability of
   a yah kaun <u>aa gayaa</u> +gbp   who do we have here?
   where the <u>intention is</u> rhetorical rather than truly
   interrogative. See section 4.3.2.7 ad el-2 and fl-2.

7/ Sentence pl implies the speaker's dislike of or sur-
   prise at the action expressed. As a simple request
   for information only the simple verb may be used:
      tumhE dekh kar mujhe hameSaa XuSii hotii hai,
   a b lekin tum kyO <u>aa jaate ho</u> *gb +p <u>aate ho</u> +gbp
      i'm always glad <u>to see you but why</u> <u>do you</u> come?

8/ A tendency it should be noted which is not at all so
   strong as that of obviously negative elements to oc-
   cur only with the simple verb. 'Preference' or 'parti-
   ality' might in fact be better terms.

9/ In section E: "Fragen im Sinne einer Aufforderung, ei-
   nes Absichtssatzes, eines Ausdrucks der Reue und des
   Tadels (<u>kyO na(hII)</u>)", pp 28-30.

tion of the simple:compound verb[10] than to provide an explanation of the occurrence of negated compound verbs in this type of sentence.

Semantically these are quite disparate: suggestions and expressions of intention certainly do not denote completed acts, hence their negations need not express non-completion. In fact as Gaeffke suggests[11] the intent of a sentence like o is positive:

r   bhairo tum cup kyO nahII ho jaate (pg 28 from r

        19) +bsdgp

        why don't you be quiet (=be quiet)

On the other hand expressions of reproach like

s   ra. sir jhukaae cintaa mE Duubaa khaRaa thaa.

        jaalpaa ne us kii daSaa jaan kar bhii cizO ko

        kyO Thukraa nahII diyaa +bsgp   *d

        r. stood with his head down brooding. jalpa knew

        his financial situation and yet why hadn't she

        given up these things (pg 29 from Gaban 69)

are ineluctably negations, expressions of the real non-occurrence of an activity. At present we can do no more than record the presence of compound verbs in them.

10/ An attempt at explaining the preference for simple
    manifestation of some of these interrogative elements
    is made below in section 4.3.2.7.

11/ "Derartige meist mit kyO gestellte Fragen sind na-
    tuerlich keine Verneinungen von Sachverhalten. Das
    Geschehen hat sich zwar noch nicht vollzogen, es wird
    sich aber ereigen, wenigstens nach dem Willen des
    Fragenden.": p 28.

4.3.2.1.6 Negated compound verbs: I'll be damned

There are yet other words or phrases which while
not overt negatives share with the latter a partiality
for the simple verb unless their compound suppressing
power is canceled by some other negative element. Among
these are a number of expressions corresponding roughly
to the English I'll be damned if...:[1]

a   donO (ko)...yahAA se nikaal na diyaa to baap kaa
        nahII (pg 33 from r 351) +bsdgp
        if i don't drive the both of them out i'm a mon-
        key's uncle

b   bAdhwaa na diyaa to kahnaa (pg 34 from r 357)+bsd
                                                      +pg
        i'll be damned if i don't get this tied up

That this is another type of double negation becomes
clear if we compare a and b with sentences which are the
same except for the deletion of the negative particle.
Then the overall sense of the sentence becomes negative
and the simple verb is preferred to the compound:

c 1   donO ko yahAA se nikaal diyaa *bg   Wsd   +p

  2   nikaalaa +bsdg   to baap kaa nahII
                 Wp
        i'll be damned if i send them both away

1/ Gaeffke does not include these in his section F: "Be-
   jahung durch doppelte Verneinung" where they would
   seem to belong. Rather he has them in H: "Verneinte
   Nebensaetze fuer Geschehen, das verwirklicht werden
   soll (Geluebde u. a.)".

d 1 2   <u>bAdhwaa diyaa</u> *b   Wsdgp <u>bAdhwaayaa</u> +bsdgp

  to kahnaa

  i'll be damned if i get this tied up

  Similarly if the part of the sentence correspon-

ding to <u>I'll be damned if</u> is replaced by an apodosis

having a more positive connotation then the pattern of

simple:compound manifestation observed in the protasis

is reversed:

e 1   donO ko yahAA se <u>nikaal na diyaa</u> *gp   +b

 2 3   <u>nikaal nahII diyaa</u> *gpb   <u>nahII nikaalaa</u> +gpb

  to pitaa jii mujhe pAAc rupye de dEge

  if i don't drive the both of them out my father

  will give me five rupees

f 1   donO ko yahAA se <u>nikaal diyaa</u> +gpb

 2   <u>nikaalaa</u> *gp +b   to pitaa jii mujhe pAAc rupye

  de dEge

  if i send them both away from here my father will

  give me five rupees

g 1 2   <u>bAdhwaa na diyaa</u> *gpb   <u>bAdhwaa nahII diyaa</u> *gp

                    *b

 3   <u>nahII bAdhwaayaa</u> +gpb   to bahut acchaa rahegaa

  it would be better for me not to get this tied up

h 1 2   <u>bAdhwaa diyaa</u> +gpb   <u>bAdhwaayaa</u> +gpb

  to bahut acchaa rahegaa

  it would be very good if i could get this tied up

  The difference in pattern between abcd and efgh

appears to parallel the distribution of <u>any</u> and <u>some</u> in
the protases of sentences which are on the one hand
threats (ij) and on the other promises (kl)[2]:

i 1   i'll be damned if i don't get <u>some</u> money today +

  2   <u>any</u> money today (!)

j 1   i'll be damned if i get <u>any</u> money today +

  2   <u>some</u> money today (!)

k 1   he will help if i don't get <u>some</u> money today *

  2   <u>any</u> money today +

l 1   he will help if i get <u>any</u> money today *

  2   <u>some</u> money today +

      Thus it appears that the occurrence of negated
compound verbs in the protasis of conditional sentences
does not depend (or does not alone depend) on the com-
pound verb suppressing properties of the protasis as
such[3] but on the overall affirmative:negative character
of the sentence as a whole. Similar restrictions apply
to the occurrence of the compound verb both with <u>kyO na-</u>
<u>hII</u> and in other 'double-negative' environments.

2/ Discussed very elegantly in R. Lakoff 1969, pp 610-12.

3/ Although one or two grammarians have simply cited the
    <u>agar</u>-clause as an environment in which negated com-
    pound verbs are found: Barker, vol I, p 392 and Pahwa,
    p 245.

4.3.2.2 Simple environments: hii

The particle hii in some of its functions as a limiting element is incompatible with compound verbs[1]:

a 1   siitaa isii taaluqe mE mar gaii thii *bdt Wgp +s

  2   marii thii +bsdtgp

sita died in this very taluka (the one we are in; or, the one we are discussing)

b 1   raam ne meraa hii kaam kar diyaa *bdt   Wsgp

  2   kiyaa +bsdtgp

ram just did my work (nobody else's)

When hii has an emphatic rather than a limiting function compound verbs may occur with it[2]:

c 1   raam ne meraa hii kaam tamaam kar diyaa +bsgp   *t

  2   tamaam kiyaa +bstgp

ram really messed things up for me (compare b1-2)

Emphasis rather than restriction seems to be the function of hii in the adverbial expressions of time and place in the following:

d 1   raam ne usii din raawaN kaa wadh kar diyaa +bsdg

  2   Wtp   kiyaa +bstgp Wd

ram killed ravan on the very same day

1/ First noted by Verma 1968, pp 70-72. However, as will become clear in the discussion below there are complexities which force a modification of this generalization.

2/ For another hii with compound verbs see 4.3.4.3.

e 1   siitaa usii taaluqe mE <u>mar gaii thii</u> +bstg   Wdp

  2   <u>marii thii</u> +bsdtgp

sita died in the very same taluka (as, say, she was born in)

However, if the particle <u>hii</u> functions as an emphatic element in a deictic phrase then compound verbs do not occur (as in sentence al):

f 1   raam ne raawaN kaa wadh isii din <u>kar diyaa</u> *bdgp

  2   Wt   +s   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdtgp

ram killed ravan on this very day (contrast dl-2)

g 1   dekho, siitaa usii makaan mE <u>mar gaii thii</u> *bdtp

  2   +sg   <u>marii thii</u> +bsdtgp

look, sita died in that house (speaker points)

The <u>hii</u> of d and e which permits the occurrence of compound verbs we shall call 'emphatic <u>hii</u>' after Verma[3]. The <u>hii</u> of a, f and g which does not permit the compound verb we shall call 'deictic <u>hii</u>'. It should be noted that compound verbs may occur with deictic <u>hii</u>, if the environment is otherwise compound:

h 1   raam isii mahiine mE <u>aa gayaa</u> *bdt   +sgp

  2   <u>aayaa</u> +bsdtgp

ram came this very month

i 1   aaxirkaar raam isii mahiine mE <u>aa gayaa</u> +bsdtgp

  2   <u>aayaa</u> *b Wdg +stp

3/ Verma 1968, pp 65-77. Verma's term is actually 'emphasisor'.

ram has finally come this very month[4]

j   wahAA dekho, jab tak raam ne siitaa ko DhUURhaa

  1   tab tak wo usii makaan mE <u>mar gaii thii</u> +bsdp

  2   Bg *t   <u>marii thii</u> *bsdtgp

look over there, by the time ram found her sita

had died in that house (speaker points)[5] (cf g1-2)

    This compatibility with compound verbs in environ-

ments that are otherwise compound distinguishes deictic

<u>hii</u> from the <u>hii</u> of the following:

k 1   raam ne hii raawaN kaa wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> *bdtp Wg +s

  2   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdtgp

ram was the one who killed ravan (no-one else)

l 1   raam ne raawaN kaa hii wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> *bt   Wg   Dd

  2   +s   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdtgp

ravan was the (only) one ram killed

In sentence k emphatic <u>hii</u> ('that very ram') is not pos-

sible in normal speech. The only meaning possible for <u>hii</u>

here is that of a limiting element ('only ram'). Indeed

an item such as 'kewal' or 'sirf' can be added with no

change in meaning, or speaker judgements of acceptability:

k 3   kewal raam ne hii raawaN kaa wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> *bdtg

  4   +s Dp ('singlehandedly': +p)   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdgp ?t

<u>4</u>/ For <u>aaxirkaar</u> as a 'compound environment' see section
   4.3.3.4 below.

<u>5</u>/ For <u>tab tak</u> as a compound environment see section
   4.2.3 above.

1 3   raam ne sirf raawaN kaa hii wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> *bsdtgp

  4   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdtgp

Thus in sentences k, l (and b) <u>hii</u> is acting as a limit-
ing element, excluding other possibilities[6]. We shall
call the <u>hii</u> that is a reflex of <u>kewal...hii</u> or of <u>sirf</u>
<u>...hii</u> 'limiter <u>hii</u>'.

   Limiter <u>hii</u> distinguishes itself from deictic <u>hii</u>
in that it conditions the simple verb in environments
that are otherwise compound:

m 1   aaxirkaar sirf raam hii is mahiine mE <u>aa gayaa</u>

  2   *bdtgp +s   <u>aayaa</u> +bsdtgp

       ram's the only one who finally came this month

       (compare il and i2)

n   dekho, jab tak raam yahAA aayaa tab tak siitaa hii

  1   us makaan mE <u>mar gaii thii</u> *bdtgp   +s

  2   <u>marii thii</u> +bdtgp   Ds

       look, by the time ram got here it was just sita

       (and no-one else) who had died in that house over

       there (speaker points)   (contrast jl and j2)

   Time or place adverbials in <u>hii</u> are also incompa-
tible with compound verbs if instead of the emphatic
sense of <u>hii</u> in d and e they have the excluding sense of
limiter <u>hii</u>:

6/ This excluding function of <u>hii</u> was first isolated and
   demonstrated by Verma 1966, pp 111-128. He derives it
   by deletions from a discontinuous element <u>kewal...hii</u>.

234

o   raam ne jis din raawaN ko pakRaa usii din us kaa

   1 2   wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> +bsdtgp   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdt   Wgp

         (duusre din tak nahII rukaa)

         ram killed ravan on the very day he caught him

         (without waiting even until the next)

Here <u>hii</u> emphasizes and underlines the identity of the

day on which Ravan was caught and the day he was killed.

It is not intended as an explicit and deliberate denial

of his being killed on some other particular day. Con-

trast this with:

p   jo din mAI kah rahaa thaa usii din raam ne raawaN

   1 2   kaa wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> *bsdtgp   <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdtgp

         (us din nahII jo tum kahte ho)

         ram killed ravan on the day i said he did (and

         not on the day you claim)

Here the speaker uses <u>hii</u> in order to identify one day

in contradistinction to another. His intention is to ex-

clude rather than to emphasize.[7]

7/ Clearly the difference in implication that exists be-
   tween o and p could just as well exist between two
   different tokens of o itself:
   o   raam ne jis din raawaN ko pakRaa usii din us kaa
   3 4 wadh <u>kar diyaa</u> *bd   Wst   +gp <u>kiyaa</u> +bsdtp Wg
        (aur yah nahII jo tum kah rahe ho ki wo duusre
        din tak rukaa)
        ram killed raavan on the very day he caught him
        (and what you say that he waited till the next
        day is not so)
   Thus the acceptability of a compound verb in many con-
   structions containing <u>hii</u> depends on the intention of
   the speaker, and not on any overt features of the ut-
   terance (except perhaps unwritten prosodic features).

The influence of limiting _hii_ on the manifesta-
tion of the simple:compound verb should probably be iden-
tified with that of overtly negative elements.[8] For in
using such a limiting element the speaker intends to ex-
press two things at once. He wishes to predicate Y of X
and non-Y of non-X. It is to the second, negative part
of such predication that the suppression of compound
verbs in this environment should be ascribed.[9]

The influence of deictic _hii_ on manifestation ap-
pears to be of a different order. As sentence sets i and
j show its capacity to suppress the compound is only rel-
ative. Comparing them with sets h and g respectively we
see a _competition_ between the simple and the compound
verb that is reminiscent of aspectual competition in the
Slavic languages.[10] It is possible that this competition
arises because deictic _hii_ and the compound verb 'do the
same thing': they both call attention to particular ele-
ments in an utterance. To conceive of the simple:compound
verb as a means of shifting an action into and out of
perceptual focus would be in nice agreement with Hacker's

8/ Such an identification is made by Verma 1968, p 71 and
   p 75. His reasoning is quite different given his con-
   cept of the nature of negation. See 4.3.2.1, ad fn 6.

9/ Note the parallel effect of _only_ on _some_:_any_:
   a b only ram did _some_ work* only ram did _any_ work +
   See R. Lakoff 1969, p 608.

10/ See Forsyth 1970, p 350. The concept of competition
    is applied to Hindi by Pořízka 1967, pp 72-3.

view of the simple:compound opposition as a 'stylistic device' (Stilmittel).[11]

4.3.2.3 Simple environments: 'barely' and 'with great difficulty'

In Hindi, if the performance of an act is quali-fied in its expression by phrases implying its near non-completion, then the verb shows a preference for simple manifestation:

```
a 1    raam ne baRii muSkil se yah kaam kar liyaa *b   Wg
                                                        +p
  2                                       kiyaa +bpg

       ram did this job with great difficulty

b 1    raam ne jyO tyO kar ke yah kaam kar liyaa *b Wp +g

  2                                       kiyaa +bgp

       somehow or other ram managed to get this done

c      le de kar kul tiin caar ghaNTe sone ko

  1 2  mil gae *b   Wp  +g    mile +pgb

       i barely managed to get three or four hours sleep

d 1    siitaa yah kitaab Saayad hii paRh legii *pgb

  2                                 paRhegii +pgb
```

11/ Hacker 1958, paragraphs 93-104. Viz:
"Da die Hilfsverben die verbale Aussage in irgend-einem Sinne bestimmter, entfalteter gestalten, stellen sie die Individualitaet der einzelnen Ge-schehnisse entschiedener vor die Aufmerksamkeit, als es durch unkomponierten Ausdruck geschaehe; das einzelne Geschehen wird fuer den Redenden und den Hoerenden beachtlicher.": paragraph 94.

sita will hardly read this book

If expressions of ease are substituted for baRii
muSkil se, le de kar, Saayad hii, etc., the compound
may occur:

d 1   raam ne cuTkiyO mE yah kaam kiyaa +pgb

  2   kar liyaa +pgb

      ram did this job in a trice (literally: with a

      snap of the fingers)   (cf a1-2)

e 1   raam ne baRii aasaanii se yah kaam kiyaa +gb Wp

  2   kar liyaa +gbp

      ram did this job with ease (cf a1-2)

f   anaayaas hii tiin caar ghaNTe sone ko

  1 2 mile Wp   +gb   mil gae +pgb

      i got three or four hours of sleep without half

      trying[1]   (cf b1-2)

g 1   siitaa yah kitaab zaruur paRhegii +pgb

  2   paRh legii +pgb

      sita will surely read this book (cf c1-2)

Since in English the phrase with great difficul-
ty is often accompanied by only and the presence of
barely conditions any rather than some (as in:

h 1   i barely got some sleep last night *

  2   any sleep last night +

      because of all that noise you were making)

1/ For speaker g anaayaas hii means 'unexpectedly'.

it seems reasonable to compare the effect of <u>baRii</u>
<u>muSkil se</u>, etc.,[2] with that of limiting <u>hii</u>.[3]

4.3.2.4 Simple environments: 'first' and 'last'

Limiter <u>hii</u> simultaneously specifies one indivi-
dual and excludes others. Other expressions sharing this
semantic property and similarly tending to suppress the
compound verb include <u>sab se pahle</u> 'the first' and <u>sab
se baad</u> and <u>aaxirii</u> 'the last':

a   aarmsTraan maanavetihaas mE sab se pahle cAAd kii

  1 2 satah par <u>pahUcaa</u> +pgb   <u>pahUc gayaa</u> *pb Wg

       armstrong was the first in the history of mankind

       to reach the surface of the moon

b   mAI aaxirii aadmii hUU jis ne use zindaa

  1 2 <u>dekhaa</u> +pgb   <u>dekh liyaa</u> *pb   +g

       i'm the last man to have seen him alive

       However there are important qualifications to be
made: I. In order to suppress compound verbs these ex-
pressions must refer to, qualify or limit the individual
actors concerned, not their acts:

c   hamaare yahAA Saadii ke lie bahut log aae the aur

2/ Although there are clearly distinctions to be made a-
  mong these expressions with regard to their 'negative-
  ness'. (Compare sets a and d with b and c.)

3/ For discussion of the Hindi equivalent of 'barely' in
  the temporal sense see section 4.3.4.3.

1   is lie mAI ne sab se baad khaanaa <u>khaayaa</u> +pgb

2   <u>khaa liyaa</u> *pb   +g

     a lot of people had come to our place for the

     wedding so i ate last of all (of those who ate)

Here <u>sab se baad</u> restricts the agent of the action. In

d   mAI ne mahmaanO kii xaatir kii, unhE biThaa diyaa,

     khaanaa paRosaa, aur sab ke baad khaanaa

1 2 <u>khaayaa</u> +gpb   <u>khaa liyaa</u> +gpb

     i received the guests, seated them, served them

     and, last of all, ate (after doing everything else)

<u>sab ke baad</u> restricts not the agent with respect to the

others present, but his act of eating with respect to

the other acts which he has performed.

     II. <u>sab se pahle</u> excludes the compound only (or

at least more consistently) if its scope is universal in

an utterance expressing what is (or is claimed to be) a

universal truth, good for all time (and hence outside of

time):[1]

e   hilrii aur tenziñ ewresT kii coTii par duniyaa mE

1 2 sab se pahle <u>pahUce</u> +gpb   <u>pahUc gae</u> *pb   Wg

     hillary and tenzing were the first in the world

     to reach the top of mt everest

Sentence e expresses a fact about Mt. Everest that could

1/ See the discussion of utterances describing creations
   and discoveries (4.3.2.5) and that concerning stative
   and gnomic statements (4.3.2.6) on this point.

apply only to Hillary and Tenzing (just as sentence a expresses a fact which is, was, and always will be true only of Armstrong). If, however, <u>sab se pahle</u> is taken out of this cosmic frame of reference, it no longer suppresses the compound:

f   jaapaanii, ruusii, ciinii aur amriikan raam aur

          Syaam ke piiche piiche the lekin binaa aage piiche

          dekhe raam aur Syaam aage baRhte gae aur pahaaRii

1   kii coTii par sab se pahle <u>pahUce</u> Wgpb

2   <u>pahUc gae</u> +gpb

        the japanese, the russians, the chinese and the

        americans were right behind them, but recklessly

        forging ahead ram and shyam were the first to

        reach the top of the hill   (cf el-2)

4.3.2.5 Simple environments: creations and discoveries

One of the more startling classes of utterances to prefer simple manifestation of the verb is that composed of those which express the discovery or invention of something specific:

a 1   kalambas ne amriikaa kii <u>khoj kii</u> +pgb

  2 3 <u>khoj kar dii</u> *pb Wg   <u>khoj kar lii</u> *pgb

       columbus discovered america

b 1   rabindranaath ne bhaartiiy raaSTr giit <u>likhaa</u> +pgb

  2 3   <u>likh diyaa</u> *pb   Wg   <u>likh liyaa</u> *pgb[1]

      rabindranath wrote the indian national anthem

c 1 2   meraa janm 1942 mE <u>huaa</u> +pgb   <u>ho gayaa</u> *pb   Wg[2]

d 1 2   mAI 1942 mE paidaa <u>huaa</u> +gbp   <u>ho gayaa</u> *bp   ?g

      i was born in 1942

      It is important that the object discovered (or

created) be unintended or not known of beforehand.[3] In

e   bahut saalO se koSiS karne ke baad waasko daa gaa-

      maa ne hindustaan jaane ke lie ek naii raah kii

  1 2 3 khoj <u>kii</u> +pgb   <u>kar dii</u> +p Wg *b   <u>kar lii</u> +pb *g

      after trying for many years vasco da gama discov-

      ered a new way to india   (compare al-3)

Da Gama's discovery was forseen and intended by those who

financed him; India was well-known; and new routes to it,

imaginable. This, of course, was not true of America when

Columbus discovered it on his way to 'India'.[4] Similarly,

in

f 1   rabindranaath ne janagaNamana <u>likhaa</u> +pgb

1/ Speaker b accepts b3 as the non-final clause in a se-
   ries of conjoined clauses. See Van Olphen 1970, p 166.

2/ Speaker g finds that c1 and 2 require a final <u>thaa</u>.

3/ See section 4.3.2.7 for further discussion of this.

4/ Of course we are not suggesting that the grammar of
   Hindi must incorporate the history of the world as one
   of its subsections. The question is not whether sen-
   tence a3 is 'good' Hindi or not, but of what is im-
   plied if one chooses to utter it.

. f 2   rabindranaath ne janagaNamana <u>likh liyaa</u> +pb *g

        rabindranath wrote 'janaganamana'

the compound is acceptable provided the speaker knows

that Rabindranath Tagore has been working on a poem en-

titled 'Janaganamana' which he has now completed. Sen-

tence b3, on the other hand, is at the least 'strange'

because at the time Tagore completed 'Janaganamana' nei-

ther he nor anyone else knew that it was to become the

Indian national anthem. Again that the individual born

in 1942 should turn out to be me was something neither I

nor my parents could have foretold or known until I be-

came aware of it.[5] In this sense 'I' was unintended.

Thus, to use the compound verb in either of a, b, c

or d implies a cosmic omniscience on the part of the

speaker more proper to gods or prophets. In fact from the

standpoint of mortal man, abcd are not primarily descrip-

tions of events or acts at all, but stative utterances

defining relations of certain entities to the universe of

space and time. It is the relation of such utterances to

the compound:simple opposition that we discuss next.

5/ However, it is difficult to find a sentence dealing
with birth in which speakers accept a compound verb:
a   mere maataa pitaa ke 1942 ke julaaii mE pahle bac-
1 2 ce kaa janm <u>huaa</u> +gpb   <u>ho gayaa</u> Wgp *b
    my parents had their first child in july of 1942
Speakers g and p find the compound verb here only mar-
ginally less strange than in sentence c2. It may be
that verbs denoting birth are so often involved with
the identity of particular individuals that they have
become 'simplicia tantum'. See section 4.4.1.

4.3.2.6 Simple environments: generic and stative
expressions

Certain classes of utterances either permitting
no tensual contrasts at all or exhibiting a markedly
reduced set of them show only the simple manifestation
of the verb. Such utterances include generic expressions
on the one hand and stative expressions on the other.

I. We define 'generic' here as any expression of
universal scope used either to teach children about the
world (abcde); foreigners, the language (f); or as a kind
of catch-phrase or proverb (gh)[1]:

a 1   Ser praaNii <u>hai</u> +bpg   the tiger is an animal

b 1   do aur do caar <u>hote hAI</u> +bpg   2 + 2 = 4

c 1   Ser goSt <u>khaataa hai</u> +bpg   tigers eat meat

d 1   taalaa kholne ke lie caabii kaa istemaal <u>hotaa</u>
    <u>hai</u> +bpg   to open a lock a key is used

e 1   taalaa kholne ke lie caabii kaa istemaal <u>karte</u>
    <u>hAI</u> +bpg   to open a lock people use a key

f 1   yah peR cinaar <u>kahlaataa hai</u> +bpg
    this tree is called a chinar

---

[1] Those of this last type are sometimes called 'gnomic'
expressions. Of course, there is nothing mutually ex-
clusive about the communicative functions these utter-
ances may have: fl may be used to teach a child about
his world; dl or el may be used to teach a foreigner
the meaning of <u>caabii</u>; etc.

g 1   dhan ko dhan <u>kamaataa hai</u> +bp   ?g

(h 1   dhan se dhan <u>miltaa hai</u> +gb)

g h .   money begets money

     Although some of these utterances express activity (c, d and e, for examples), their primary communicative function[2] is definitional: they express either the relation of words to meanings or the relation of given meanings (such as that of <u>Ser</u> 'tiger' or <u>dhan</u> 'money') to a universe of characteristic properties or activities. As such they do not express the occurrence of particular events or acts or even the iteration of particular acts or events: They do not, therefore, occur with compound verbs:

a 2   Ser praaNii <u>ho jaataa hai</u> *bpg

b 2   do aur do caar <u>ho jaate hAI</u> *pbg

c 2   Ser goSt <u>khaa letaa hai</u> *gb   Dp[3]

d 2   taalaa kholne ke lie caabii kaa istemaal <u>ho jaa-</u>

e 2   <u>taa hai</u> *bpg   <u>kar lete hAI</u> *bpg

f 2   yah peR cinaar <u>kahlaa paRtaa hai</u> *bpg

g 2   dhan ko dhan <u>kamaa detaa hai</u> *b   +p

h 2   dhan se dhan <u>mil jaataa hai</u> *gb

     II. Stative expressions are those that specify

2/ On the distinction between literal meaning and communicative function see discussion in section 4.1.3.

3/ For speaker p this sentence is acceptable in the meaning 'tigers don't mind eating meat', the implication being that their characteristic diet is something else.

static relations. They differ from generics in that they
need not be of universal scope and do not express acti-
vities (in contrast to sentences c, d and e). They ex-
press relations which stand outside of delimitable time:
those of shape, extent, composition, ability, knowledge,
belief, possession, even age[4]:

i 1   suuraj golaakaar <u>hai</u> +pbg   the sun is round

j 1   maidaan kSitij tak <u>phailtaa hai</u> +pbg

      the prairie extends to the horizon

k 1   raam aql <u>rakhtaa hai</u> +pbg   ram is smart

L 1   siitaa raam ko <u>jaantii hai</u> +pbg   sita knows ram

m 1   kyaa aap dew <u>maante hAI</u> +pbg

      do you believe in god?

n 1   mohan ke paas saaykal <u>hai</u> +pbg

      mohan has a cycle

      There are a number of restrictions on the tense-
forms that may occur in stative expressions. George La-
koff 1970a[5] has related two of these restrictions to the
semantic properties of statives:

      Being relations rather than performable actions
they may not occur as imperatives:

o   raam ko <u>jaano</u> *bpg[6]   know ram! (cf L 1)

4/ On utterances whose primary function is to express a
   static temporal location, see section 4.3.2.5.

5/ Pp 121-122.

6/ Acceptable as 'that's ram for you!' +g

p   aql <u>rakho</u> *b Dpg be smart! (= aql se kaam lo: +pg)

Expressing completed states rather than completable events, they do not occur as progressives:

q   kyaa aap dew <u>maan rahe hAI</u> *bpg[7]   (cf m)

are you believing in god?

r   suuraj golaakaar <u>ho rahaa hai</u> *bp (Dg: cf fn 10)

the sun is being round

In addition to these criteria of Lakoff's one might also note that these expressions never occur in the perfect, since the states described by them do not have easily defined beginnings or end-points:

s   mohan ke paas saaykal <u>huii hai</u> *bpg   (cf n)

mohan has had a cycle

u   yah maidaan kSitij tak <u>phailaa hai</u> *bp OKg[8]

this prairie has stretched to the horizon (cf j)

For these reasons (they are not actions; they are not events; they are outside delimitable time); states are not amenable to expression by compound verbs:[9]

7/ Speaker g finds this acceptable if it is addressed to a man who is <u>performing</u> puja.

8/ However, other expressions of stative geographical relations may by convention occur in the perfect (as seems to be the case with sentence u for speaker g):
  a 1 yah saRak dillii tak <u>gaii hai</u> +bpg
     2   <u>jaatii hai</u> =bpg
    this road goes to delhi
  b 1 gangaa nadii himaalay parwat se <u>niklii hai</u> +bpg
     2   <u>nikaltii hai</u> =bpg
    the river ganges rises in the himalayas

9/ Nor are those geographical relations which happen to

i 2   suuraj golaakaar <u>ho jaataa hai</u> *bp   +g[10]

j 2   maidaan kSitij tak <u>phail jaataa hai</u> *bpg

k 2   raam aql <u>rakh letaa hai</u>[11] *bpg

L 2   siitaa raam ko <u>jaan letii hai</u> *bpg[12]

m 2   kyaa aap dew <u>maan lete hAI</u> *bpg

n 2   mohan ke paas saaykal <u>ho jaatii hai</u> *bpg

---

be expressed in the perfect (cf set bl-2 in fn 8):
b 3 gangaa nadii himaalay parwat se <u>nikal gaii hai</u>
  4 *bpg   <u>nikal jaatii hai</u> *bpg
Bahl 1967, p 338, without any attempt at semantic
analysis, contrasts b3 with   ?g
c   gangaa nadii se bahut nahrE <u>nikal gaii hAI</u> +b OKp
    the river ganges has ramified into many canals
Sentence c is actually the anti-causative correspond-
ing to   +g
d   gangaa nadii se bahut nahrE <u>nikaalii gaii hAI</u> +bp
    the river ganges has been ramified into many
    canals
As such c expresses the result of an action and may
occur with a compound verb. In contrast Bahl's sen-
tence
e   gangaa nadii himaalay parwat se <u>niklii hai</u> +bpg
    the river ganges rises in the himalayas
expresses only a geographical relation.

10/ Speaker g finds this sentence acceptable if it refers
to a change in the appearance of the sun (as it rises
above the horizon, for example).

11/ Bahl 1967, pp 364-5, lists a good number of composite
expressions in <u>rakh</u> which he correctly notes may not
occur compound (except with the anti-vectors <u>paa</u> and
<u>sak</u>). However, the semantic properties from which
this restriction derives are neither explored nor
generalized. Calling these expressions "action noun
phrases" only further obscures their stative identity.

12/ When its object is a piece of information rather than
a person <u>jaan</u> may have the non-stative meaning 'learn'
or 'come to know':
a   yah baat <u>jaano</u> +pb   *g   know this (learn it)!
b   wo yah baat <u>jaan gayaa</u> +bpg
    he came to know this; he learned of this
Speaker g accepts L2 as a historical present in this
non-stative sense: 'sita comes to know ram' +σ

Not to find compound verbs in statements that present facts as timeless characteristics[13] (generics) or describe not actions or events but static relations (statives) can not be considered surprising. Given our characterization of the compound verb as denoting the completion of an action (relative to some other action) it is clear that neither generic nor stative expressions provide the temporal dimension in which such aspectual contrasts may exist.[14]

4.3.2.7 Simple environments: lack of prior knowledge

In cases where the performance of an action is completely unforseen by the speaker he may not use the compound verb:

a   mAI ne Srii kaathawTe kaa naam bhii kabhii nahII

1   sunaa lekin kal un kaa xat <u>milaa</u> +pgb

2   <u>mil gayaa</u> *pgb

13/ This statement is one of the few that appears to put us in direct contradiction with V. Pořízka (1967) who finds compound verbs in expressions signifying 'actions irrespective of any particular time sphere' (p 218). But the examples he gives do not have the definitional quality of a through h above.

14/ Note the use in Russian of the imperfective present or the perfective past to express stative relations:
a   Слой руды <u>залегает</u> очень глубоко (I)   (Forsyth
b   <u>залег</u> очень глубоко (P)   1970, p 75)
    the ore deposit lies at a great depth

a   i had never even heard of mr kathavate before

       but yesterday i got a letter from him

Compare sentence b where the receipt of a letter is for-
seen:

b   mAI ne Srii Sarmaa se mujhe likhne kaa waaydaa

 1   liyaa thaa aur kal un kaa xat <u>milaa</u> +pgb

 2   <u>mil gayaa</u> +pgb

      i had gotten mr sharma to promise to write to

      me and yesterday i got his letter

      It is important to stress that it is the happening
itself of an event or the performance itself of an action
that must be unforseen by the speaker for him to be un-
able to use a compound verb. If it is merely the <u>time</u> of
an expected event or action that he has not correctly
forseen, he may still use the compound verb:

c   merii ummiid thii ki abhii do hafte ke baad Sarmaa

 1   jii kaa xat aaegaa lekin kal hii <u>milaa</u> +b   Wpg

 2   <u>mil gayaa</u> +pgb

      i was expecting mr sharma's letter in two weeks

      but it came yesterday

      It is this influence of prior ignorance which is
behind the preference for simple manifestation in utter-
ances expressing the occurrence of unforseeable natural
calamities such as earthquakes:[1]

1/ Seismologists and 'sensitives' must be excluded from
   this generalization.

d 1   kal hindustaan mE bhuukamp <u>aayaa</u> +pgb

  2   <u>aa gayaa</u> *b   Wpg

       yesterday there was an earthquake in india

       Another reflection of the compound suppressing
effect of the lack of prior knowledge is the simple mani-
festation found of verbs whose agents are <u>kaun</u> 'who'[2]:

e 1 2   kaun <u>aayaa</u> +bsdgp   kaun <u>aa gayaa</u> *bsdgp

       who came?

If there is a real lack of prior knowledge then of
course el is a sincere request for information. However,
if the speaker can see who has come or obviously knows
who it is, the question becomes more or less rhetorical
and compound manifestation is possible in the verb:

f 1 2   yah kaun <u>aayaa</u> +bpg yah kaun <u>aa gayaa</u> +bgp

       well look who's come!; who do we have here!

       Lack of prior knowledge as a simple environment
appears to be a complement of <u>aaxirkaar</u> 'at last' as a
compound environment.[3]

       4.3.2.8 Simple environments: <u>baar</u>, <u>dafaa</u> 'time'

       Discussing the 'limitation of action in transi-
tive compound verbs', Bailey 1950 cites the following

2/ See sentence set o in section 4.3.2.1.5.

3/ Discussed below in section 4.3.3.4.

sentence and implies that it may not occur with a compound verb:

a 1   "dukaandaar ne use das dafaa tanxaah <u>dii</u> +bsdtg Wp

the shopkeeper gave him his pay ten times"

while the following may:

b   "use tanxaah <u>de dii</u> +bsdtgp

paid him his wages (one occasion)"[1]

Barker 1967 notes the same restriction:

c 1   "mAI ne tiin dafaa use kuch paise <u>die</u> +bsdtgp

i gave him some money three times

(since the action is not a single act (but rather one repeated three times), a compound verbal formation cannot be employed here.)" [2]

While we too find compound verbs to be less acceptable (if not impossible) in such utterances:

a 2   dukaandaar ne use das dafaa tanxaah <u>de dii</u> *bdtg
+sp
c 2   mAI ne tiin dafaa use kuch paise <u>de die</u> *bdt   +sg
Wp

we cannot agree with the explanations Bailey and Barker give for this incompatibility. For one thing, the utterances do not improve noticeably even if we substitute

<u>ek dafaa</u> 'one time, once' for <u>das dafaa</u> or <u>tiin dafaa</u>:

---

[1] P -75. His explanation:
"<u>lenaa</u> and <u>denaa</u> compounded with transitive verbs limit the action in a manner very similar to that of <u>jaanaa</u> with intransitive verbs, imparting an idea of finality or completeness, and confining the action to one occasion." (p 75) "When so compounded they indicate a single action or occasion." (p 72). This idea is criticized in Pořízka 1967, p 218.

[2] Vol I, p 394.

d 1   dukaandaar ne use ek dafaa tanxaah <u>dii</u> +bsdtg

  2   <u>de dii</u> *bdg[3]   Wt   +sp[4]

e 1   mAI ne ek dafaa use kuch paise <u>die</u> +bsdtgp

  2   <u>de die</u> *bd   +tsgp

For another, use of aggregative rather than cardinal numbers in sentences a and c yields acceptable sentences be the verb compound or simple:

f 1   dukaandaar ne use tanxaah dasO dafaa <u>dii</u> +bsdtgp

  2   <u>de dii</u> +bsdtgp[5]

     the shopkeeper gave him his pay all ten times

g 1   mAI ne use kuch paise tiinO dafaa <u>die</u> +bsdtgp

  2   <u>de die</u> +bsdtgp

     i gave him some money all three times

Thus the factor governing acceptability of the compound verb here seems not to be the number of times an action is performed but the degree to which those iterations may be seen as forming an aggregate unity of action with respect to some other action. In f and g the expressions <u>dasO dafaa</u> and <u>tiinO dafaa</u> refer to a set of occasions whose existence and total number are already

---

3/ For speakers d and g the unacceptability of a2, c2, d2, etc. depends on their being final utterances.

4/ For speaker s the difference between d1 and d2 has to do with relative time depth: d1 implies a past more distant than that implied by d2.

5/ For speaker g the acceptability of f2 (and a2) depends on its being interpreted as a reported claim of the shopkeeper with which the speaker does not agree.

established in the minds of the speaker and hearer. This
is not the case with <u>ek dafaa</u>, <u>tiin dafaa</u> or <u>das dafaa</u>
in acde: one does not know whether or not any of these
figures constitutes a total or completed set of itera-
tions. However, if one extends any of these sentences
(acde) so that the giving of something x number of times
is opposed to some further action, then the compound verb
becomes acceptable:

h   dukaandaar ne use das dafaa tanxaah <u>de dii</u> +gpb
         us ke baad nahII dii   (cf a2)
         the shopkeeper paid him ten times after which he
         stopped paying him

i   mAI ne tiin dafaa use kuch paise <u>de die</u> +gp *b   is
         lie wo phir mAAg rahaa hai   (cf c2)
         i've given him money three times already, that's
         why he's asking again

One of the functions of the perfect is to show that the
results of some action are still in effect at a given
time. This of course presupposes that the action in ques-
tion is complete relative to that later time. Thus any
expression of iteration will be automatically summed
into a complete total if it appears in the perfect. This
explains why cardinal expressions of frequency should be
compatible with compound verbs in the perfect: (cf c2)

j   mAI ne tiin dafaa use kuch paise <u>de die hAI</u> +sdgpb

j   i have given him some money three times

k   dukaandaar ne use das dafaa tanxaah <u>de dii hai</u>

       +sdgpb   (cf a2)

      the shopkeeper has given him his pay ten times

4.3.2.9 Simple environments: <u>sak</u> 'be able, can'

Compound verbs do not usually occur in construc-
tion with the modal verb[1] <u>sak</u> 'be able':[2]

a   mAI yah botal <u>khol de saktaa hUU</u> *bstp Od   PJg

      i can open this jar

b   garm paanii se dhone se is kapRe kaa rang

      <u>nikal aa saktaa hai</u> *bsdt   PJgp

      the color of this cloth can be brought out by

      washing it in hot water (kb 358)

1/ We define as modals those verbs whose "...semantics...
express no element of action" and which are "...able
to make predication, but...need verbs to supply the
'actions' predicated." See Bauschatz 1972, p i. For
the distinction of modal and non-modal <u>sak</u> see 3.2.6.

2/ This restriction has been explicitly noted by Barker,
vol I, p 392. Bahl 1967 allows sequences like that of
b in order to distinguish the opposite meaning of <u>ni-
kal</u> in
  a   garm paanii se dhone se is kapRe kaa rang <u>nikal</u>
      <u>jaa saktaa hai</u> (kb 358) *bstgp   ?d
      by washing it in hot water the color of this
      cloth may fade
Kachru 1966 appears to allow compound verbs in <u>aa</u>, <u>jaa</u>,
<u>de</u>, <u>le</u>, <u>Daal</u>, <u>rah</u>, <u>dhamak</u>, <u>nikaal</u> and <u>maar</u> to occur
with <u>sak</u> (or <u>cuk</u>!): see p 57 and pp 89-91. However,
she gives no examples of such sequences. Van Olphen
1970 states that compound verbs are "rarely used" with
modals: p 173.

In contrast to the simple environments already discussed the influence of this one on the manifestation of the compound:simple verb seems to be rooted in syntactic rather than semantic constraints. Pray 1970 accounts for the ungrammaticality of a and b by stating a general restriction on permissible sequences:

> "The strings V-i V Participle Ending or V-i
> V-i are not permitted constituents of grammati-
> cal verb sequences." 3/

This restriction rules out sequences like khol-i de-i saktaa hUU which would underly the verb sequence in sentence a. Pray does not state whether this restriction is to apply to surface structure or to some more abstract level. We might infer the former since Pray considers that:

> "The ending i (that is, Ø) is also an alternative
> of the ending of the conjunctive verb form which
> is otherwise /kar/ or /ke/." (p 144)

Given the alternation of i and kar and ke, the restriction on permitted sequences could not apply at the most abstract level since then sequences like those in

c   naukar saaraa saamaan le kar aa gayaa +bsdtgp

         the servant brought all the luggage

d   mAI aap ko kucal kar rakh dUUgaa (hvo 171) +bsdtgp

         i'll crush you

3/ Pp 141-2. Van Olphen sets up the same restriction re-
   garding V-i V-i with his 'consecutive-root constraint'
   in Van Olphen 1970, pp 173-4.

could not be derived. If however the restriction were to apply to surface structure, then we should expect the passive correspondents of sentences like a to be grammatical because the two roots are not consecutive:

e   yah botal khol dii jaa saktii hai *bs Od PJg +t
                                                   Wp
      this jar can be opened

Since such sequences are considered hardly better than their active counterparts,[4] we must assume that Pray's restriction operates somewhere after the most abstract level of derivation but prior to the application of the passive transformation. However, the operations that would create the unwanted sequences V-i V-i sak would most certainly be ordered after passive.[5] Perhaps recourse must be had here to global derivational con-

4/ Although a couple of writers offer them without comment: Masica (mimeo), p 16, paragraph 3.2, example c; and Singh 1968, p 6:
  a   patr kal likhaa die jaa sakte the *b Od PJg +stp
        the letters could have been dictated yesterday

5/ In other Indo-Aryan languages such operations are ordered before passive. That is, in Sanskrit (for example) the operations conditioned by the incorporation of Sak 'be able' into the verb phrase (such as the formation of the infinitive in -tum) precede the passive transformation:
  a   tena kaTah kartum Sakyate   by him a mat can be
                                        made
  See Hook 1969, pp 66-7, 79. From the discussion in Cardona 1965 it seems that the same may be true of Gujarati: p 118, p 123:
  b   aa kaam aa riite kari Sakaay   this work may be
                                     done this way
  where Sakaay is the passive of Sak. See sentence u3 in section 3.2.6 above.

straints.[6]

That the restriction on the occurrence of com-
pound verbs with <u>sak</u> is primarily a question of syntax
and not of semantics is also suggested by the sporadic
attestations of compound verbs with <u>sak</u> in utterances
which as a class have no properties which distinguish
them from utterances in which only simple verbs occur:

f   aaj yah soc rahii hai ki wo aamantraN puurwak

        apne premii ke haathO <u>mar kyO nahII jaa sakii</u>[7]

        +b   *sdtgp   (vp 1967, p 229, from k 134)

        today she is regretting not having been able to

        die at the hands of her lover as he suggested

g   tumhaarii sahaaytaa ke binaa mAI <u>bhaTak jaa</u>

        <u>saktii hUU</u> +b *tpg   (kb 1967, p 450)

        without your help i might go astray

h   aap merii gardan <u>uRaa de sakte hAI</u> parantu mujhe

        saty kahne se mujhe (!) nahII rok sakte +bp OKg

        you can chop off my head but you can't stop me

        from telling the truth (kb 1967, p 450)

i   kahaaniyO kii aglii zild aane tak do ek saal kaa

        samay aur <u>nikal jaa saktaa hai</u> (mpk 12) +p   *gb

---

6/ These allow linguists to derive elephants from toe-
   nails. On the unfortunate necessity of their exist-
   ence see G. Lakoff, 1970b.

7/ Interestingly if the <u>kyO nahII</u> of this sequence is
   made to precede <u>mar</u>, then no one accepts the compound:
   a   ...premii ke haathO <u>kyO nahII mar jaa sakii</u> *bsdtgp
   b   <u>kyO nahII mar sakii</u> +bsdtgp

4.3.2.10 Simple environments: the progressive

(rah@ h-)

Compound verbs usually do not occur in progres-
sive forms[1]:

a   mAI aap ke lie yah xat <u>likh de rahaa hUU</u> *bdg   ?s
                                                              +p
      i'm writing this letter for you

b   sAAR ghar mE <u>ghus jaa rahaa hogaa</u> *bdgp   ?s
      the bull is probably getting into the house

Pray 1970 invokes a 'consecutive root constraint'[2]
to explain the absence of compound verbs in the progres-
sive. However difficult it may be to use such a con-
straint to account for the restriction on compound verbs
in sequences containing <u>sak</u>[3], it works fairly neatly
here. Assuming that it applies to surface structures, it
correctly predicts that compound verbs that have under-
gone passivization may appear in the progressive whereas
the corresponding actives do not:

c   aap ke lie yah xat <u>likh diyaa jaa rahaa hai</u> +bsdp
      *g   (Delhi?: g)

      this letter is being written for you (cf a)

1/ According to Barker 1967, vol I, p 391, never. Pray
   1970 discusses exceptions, p 142. Kachru seems to al-
   low vectors <u>de</u>, <u>le</u>, <u>Daal</u>, <u>rah</u>, <u>dhamak</u>, <u>nikaal</u>, and
   <u>maar</u> to occur in progressives and to exclude other vec-
   tors: p 57. Bahl 1967 has collected exceptions: p 450.

2/ Pp 141-2.   3/ See section 4.3.2.9 above.

d   mAI yah botal <u>khol de rahaa hUU</u> *bg   Ws   Od +p

       i am opening this jar   (cf 4.3.2.9.a)

e   yah botal <u>khol dii jaa rahii hai</u> +bs   Od   *gp

       this jar is being opened   (cf 4.3.2.9.e)

     It will be recalled that the consecutive root constraint was unable to predict the ungrammaticality of the modal sentence corresponding to e:

f   yah botal <u>khol dii jaa saktii hai</u> *bsd   +dp[4]

       this jar can be opened

unless we allowed it to apply before passivization. There were other reasons[5] for suggesting that the consecutive root constraint applies after passive; the greater acceptability of sentence e as opposed to d represents one more such reason.

     To find passive expressions in some language without corresponding actives would be rather unusual, to say the least. However, the active counterpart of sentence e is not d but:

g   mAI yah botal <u>khole de rahaa hUU</u> +bsdgp

       i am opening this jar

<u>4/</u> Notice the more clear-cut division of opinion on the acceptability of this sentence on the part of speakers when exposed to it a second time (cf 4.3.2.9.e).

<u>5/</u> They are: I. The operation that forms consecutive root sequences with <u>sak</u> in them follows passivization. II. There exist sequences like <u>mar kyO nahII jaa sakii</u> where the interpolation of <u>kyO nahII</u> prevents the formation of a consecutive root sequence from which the vector would otherwise be deleted (see 4.3.2.9.fn 7).

Hacker 1958 observes that the -e of khole in se-
quences such as that of sentence g is to be distinguished
from the 'intensive -e'[6] as being simply a filler to en-
sure that "...das Zusammentreffen von zwei Kurzabsolu-
tiven vermieden werden soll."[7] It is worth noting that
in the passive where such a Zusammentreffen is avoided
by the interposition of the passive element -y@ jaa we
do not find the progressive in -e (nor in -y@) of com-
pound verbs:

h 1   yah botal khole dii jaa rahii hai *bsdgp

  2   kholii dii jaa rahii hai *bsdgp

     this jar is being opened

The progressive of intransitive compound verbs is
usually found with the variable element -y@ rather than
-e:

i   laRkii soii jaa rahii hai +bsdp   *g

     the girl is dropping off to sleep

j   laRkii soe jaa rahii hai Dbsdgp

     (= the girl is continuing to sleep: +bsdgp)

However there is not always a distinguishable difference
in meaning:

k 1   siitaa kutuuhal ke maare marii jaa rahii thii

  2   +bsdgp   mare jaa rahii thii =bsdp   *g

     sita was dying of curiosity

6/ See 4.3.3.1 below.   7/ Paragraph 77.

4.3.3 Compound environments

Compound environments are those which do not per-
mit the expression of an activity with a simple verb or
which strongly prefer a compound verb. While quite a few
writers have identified and attempted to explicate a
number of simple environments, only two or three have
suggested that compound environments might exist[1]. No-
one before now has sought to identify such environments
in terms of their syntactic and semantic properties nor
to relate them to a meaning proposed for compound verbs
as a class. As in section 4.3.2, we limit ourselves here
to an enumeration and analysis of environments which call
for finite verb forms.

4.3.3.1 Compound environments: the "intensive"

$$(-\underline{e}, \; -\underline{y@})$$

Verb sequences containing the "intensive" element
-$\underline{e}$ (or its replacement -$\underline{y@}$) always have a compound mani-
festation[1]:

---

[1] Bahl 1964, pp 28-9; Bahl 1967, pp 352-8 and Pray (mi-
meo), pp 2, 10. Bahl 1964 and 1967 gives examples of
compound verb sequences whose simple counterparts he
states to be ungrammatical. However, all of these are
composita tantum in neutral environments (see 4.4.2
below), except for #19 and #22 in Bahl 1964, pp 28-9.

[1] Although never stated in this fashion (except, it
turns out, by Bahl 1967, p 453) a relation of verb-

a 1   mAI xat <u>likhe detaa hUU</u> +bsdgp

  2   <u>likhetaa hUU</u> *bsdgp

      i'll write the letter immediately

b 1   do hii kiStO mE miir saahab ko maat <u>huii jaatii</u>

  2   <u>thii</u> +bdgp   *s   <u>huiitii thii</u> *bpg (pr 113)

      mir was about to be mated in just two checks

      As should be clear from a2 and b2 the question of

a rationale for the unique occurrence of the compound

verb in the so-called "intensive"[2] is quite academic:

the structural constraints on the verb phrase in Hindi

make it impossible even to consider the occurrence of

the simple verb in the intensive.[3] However as it might

be of interest to compare some of the functions of the

intensive with that proposed for the compound verb, we

attempt here to distinguish some of them on the basis of

syntactic evidence as well as meaning.

---

verb sequences in -e (or -y@) to the system of com-
pound verbs in Hindī has been noted by a number of
writers: Hacker 1958, paragraphs 74-85; Bahl 1967,
pp 453-9; Kachru 1966, pp 51-2, 57; McGregor 1972,
pp 172-3; Pahwa 1936, pp 311-2; Marek 1959, p 710.
Others mention them as a separate category but re-
main silent on their relation to compound verbs
without -e (or -y@): Kellogg 1938, paragraph 754 (3);
Barker 19$\overline{6}$7, vol $\overline{I}$I, pp 319-20; Dymšic 1966, 237-8.
For the conditions governing the replacement of -e
by -y@ see section 4.3.2.10 above (also Dymsic, p 237)

2/ So called by Hacker and McGregor. Pahwa calls them
   'extra-intensive' (cf section 4.1.fn 20).

3/ This it might be added is the only compound environ-
   ment completely determined by a syntactic restriction.

   Nearest to the literal meaning of <u>intensive</u> are
affectual expressions whose rendering into English often
includes some adverb like 'just', 'simply', 'nearly':

c   us kii ye baatE mujhe <u>kaaTe khaatii hAI</u> +bsdg

       these things he says simply tear me to pieces[4]

d   itne jaanwarO ko kyaa khilaaE yahii cintaa <u>maare</u>

       <u>Daaltii hai</u> +bsdgp   (g 14)

       the thought of what to feed so many animals is

       nearly killing me

e   khaRii bolii wyaakraN ke anek kaThin prayogO ko

       we sarwathaa <u>choRe dete hAI</u> +bsp   Od   *g

       many of the difficult patterns of khari boli

    ˊ grammar they simply leave out altogether[5]

In contrast to normal compound verbs such compound in-
tensives may occur in the present or habitual past only:

f 1   yahii cintaa mujhe <u>maare Daaltii thii</u> +bsdgp

  2   <u>maare Daalegii</u>[6] *bsdgp

  3   <u>maar Daalegii</u> +bsdgp

  4   isii cintaa ne mujhe <u>maare Daalaa</u> *bsdgp

  5   <u>maar Daalaa</u> +bsdgp

       The distinction between the intensive and the or-
dinary compound verb in those tenses in which they both

4/ From Barker, vol II, p 319.   5/ Hacker 1958, para. 75.

6/ Note however McGregor's example (1972, p 173):
   a   bacce kaa tutlaanaa aap ke man ko <u>mohe legaa</u> *gpb
       the baby's prattling will absolutely <u>delight</u> you

occur lies in the connotation of uninterruptedness ex-
pressed by the intensive as opposed to the sense of iter-
ation or repetition obtained from the ordinary compound
verb. This difference is brought into relief by the mu-
tual exclusiveness of the adverbs that may occur with
these two forms of the compound verb:

g 1   din raat yahii cintaa mujhe <u>maare Daaltii hai</u>

  2   +bsdgp   <u>maar Daaltii hai</u> *bsd +g
                                                        Wp
      day and night the thought of it is gnawing at me

h 1   yahii cintaa mujhe bahudhaa <u>maare Daaltii hai</u>

  2   *bdg   Ws   +p   <u>maar Daaltii hai</u> +bsdg Wp

      i am often overwhelmed by this thought

The unrelenting quality of <u>din raat</u> 'day and night' con-
trasts with the equanimous iteration expressed by <u>bahu-</u>
<u>dhaa</u> 'often'.

      A second function of <u>-e</u>/<u>-y@</u>-sequences is to ex-
press the immediately imminent completion of an action:

i   mAI abhii aap ke lie xat <u>likhe detaa hUU</u> +bsdgp

      i'll write the letter for you immediately (right

      away)

Here an intensive or affectual connotation adheres to the
imminence of an action rather than to the action itself:

j   mAI us abhaage ko <u>maare Daaltaa hUU</u> +sbdg   *p

      i'm going to kill that wretch right now

(cf: yahii cintaa mujhe <u>maare Daaltii hai</u>)

This difference in the scope of the intensive element of meaning can be brought out more clearly by comparing the effect on acceptability of differentiating adverbs like dhiire-dhiire 'slowly, gradually' and abhii-abhii 'right now' on sentences d and j respectively:

k 1   yahii cintaa mujhe dhiire dhiire <u>maare Daaltii hai</u>
        +bsdgp

        the thought of it is slowly killing me

l 2   mAI us abhaage ko dhiire dhiire <u>maare Daaltaa hUU</u>
        *bd   +sgp

        i'll slowly kill the wretch

k 2   yahii cintaa mujhe abhii abhii <u>maare Daaltii hai</u>
        *bsdp +g[7]

        the thought of it will kill me right now

l 2   mAI us abhaage ko abhii abhii <u>maare Daaltaa hUU</u>
        +bsdg   *p   i'll kill the wretch right now

        Furthermore for some speakers the -e of imminence cannot occur in the third person while intensive -e usually (if not always) occurs in that person:

m   siitaa abhii abhii xat <u>likhe detii hai</u> *bd   +sgp

        sita will write the letter right now   (cf i)

n   diwaar abhii abhii <u>girii jaatii hai</u> *bdg[8] +sp

7/ Speaker g accepts only a single <u>abhii</u> in k, l, m, etc.

8/ Speaker g will accept sentence n if it is interpreted
   as referring to the first person:
   a   the wall is coming down right now (because i'm
       just about to knock it down) +g

n   the wall will fall down right now

      Sharing certain features with the -e of imminence
is what we shall call 'performative -e':

o   mAI tum se <u>kahe detaa hUU</u> ki yah mat karnaa +bsdgp

      don't do this i tell you

Like the -e of imminence, performative -e does not occur
with third person agents:

p   raam tum se <u>kahe detaa hai</u> ki yah mat karnaa

      *bsdgp   don't do this ram tells you (cf m, n)

      Distinguishing performative -e and the -e of im-
minence is the restriction that the former must express
a communicative act taking place between the first and
the second person:

q   mAI raam se <u>kahe detaa hUU</u> ki yah mat karnaa *bd

      OKg   +sp   don't do this i tell ram   (cf o, j)

      That the -e of imminence and performative -e con-
dition the compound verb for reasons of syntax rather
than semantics is clear from the acceptability of equi-
valents with simple verbs (but of course without -e):

r   mAI abhii aap ke lie xat <u>likhtaa hUU</u> +pg   *b

      i'll write the letter for you immediately (cf i)

s   mAI tum se <u>kahtaa hUU</u> ki yah mat karnaa +pbg

      don't do this i tell you   (cf o)

This is not true of the more idiomatic "intensives":

t   yahii cintaa mujhe <u>maartii hai</u> *pg   Db   (cf d)

4.3.3.2 Compound environments: culmination

If the full and complete performance of some ac-
tion X is intended to lead to some result Y, or if the
fullness of the performance of such action is defined
by the inception of resulting state Y, then state or
event Y must be expressed by a compound verb:

a 1   maarte maarte terii haDDiyAA <u>toR dUUgaa</u> +basdptg

  2   <u>toRUUgaa</u> *basdp Wtg

i'll beat you till your bones break

In sentence a the speaker intends his beating to lead
to broken bones. Compare sentence b where the action of
walking is incidental and does not itself lead to the
breaking of bones:

b   bachuu, tuu bhii kyaa yaad rakhegaa, calte calte

       terii haDDiyAA <u>toRUUgaa</u> +bsdtg   *ap

       kid, you'll rue this day, i'll break your bones

       as we go (said by rider beating his horse)

       Culmination as we define it here is a more gene-
ral conception of the meaning factors conditioning the
compound verb in the next two specifically defined en-
vironments.[1] It is also present as a component of mean-
ing of certain expressions that may be considered lexi-
cally compound.[2]

1/ <u>yahAA tak ki</u> (4.3.3.3) and <u>aaxirkaar</u> (4.3.3.4).

2/ See discussion of composita tantum, section 4.4.2.

4.3.3.3 Compound environments: result clauses

Clauses introduced by conjunctions like <u>yahAA tak</u>
<u>ki...</u> 'so much so that...' or <u>yah natiijaa huaa ki...</u>
'with the result that...' exclude simple manifestation
of the verb:

a   motii ne hiraa ko kaii qadam piiche haTaa diyaa,

  1   yahAA tak ki wo khaaii mE <u>gir gayaa</u> +bsdpatg

  2   <u>giraa</u> *bsdpatg[1]

      moti forced hira back quite a way, so much so
      that he fell into the ditch (pr 9)

b   buuRhii aurat us ko gaaliyAA detii rahii yahAA
      tak ki agle sTeSan par wo gaaRii se

 1 2 <u>utar paRaa</u> +basdg   *pt   <u>utraa</u> *basdptg[2]

      the old woman kept scolding him so much so that
      he got down at the next station

c   laRkaa riitaa ke jii ko bhaa gayaa yahAA tak ki

  1   us ne use apnaa naam <u>bataa diyaa</u> +gbp

  2   <u>bataayaa</u> *gbp [3]

      rita took a great liking to the boy, so much so
      that she told him her name

<u>1/</u> a b hiraa khaaii mE <u>gir gayaa</u> +gbp   <u>giraa</u> +gb Wp
      hira fell into the ditch

<u>2/</u> a   agle sTeSan par wo gaaRii se <u>utar paRaa</u> +gbp
    b   <u>utraa</u> +gb Wp
      he got down at the next station

<u>3/</u> a b us ne use apnaa naam <u>bataa diyaa</u> +gbp <u>bataayaa</u> +gb

d   paanii ke zor pakaRne kaa yah natiijaa huaa ki

  1 2   ham ghar par aa gae +gbp   aae *gbp

       the rain really started coming down with the re-

       sult that we came on home

e   saahab ke raam ko DAATne kaa yah natiijaa huaa ki

  1 2   us ne yah kaam kar diyaa +gbp   kiyaa *gbp

       the result of the boss's scolding him was that

       ram got the job done

       The influence of these conjunctions toward com-

pound manifestation of the verb in the clause they intro-

duce becomes even more apparent if the result clause con-

tains an expression which is usually simple:

h   mere maataa pitaa ke 1941 mE Saadii karne kaa yah

       natiijaa huaa ki meraa janm 1942 mE

  1 2   ho gayaa +gbp   huaa *gb Wp (cf 4.3.2.5.c)

              ...ki mAI 1942 mE paidaa

  3 4   ho gayaa +gbp   huaa *gbp   (cf 4.3.2.5.d)

       my parents got married in 1941 with the result

       that i was born in 1942

       4.3.3.4 Compound environments: aaxirkaar 'finally'

       Related to the preceding two is the environment

marked by the element aaxirkaar 'at last, finally':

a   wo bahut dinO se apnaa hissaa nahII de rahaa thaa

1   lekin aaxirkaar us ne <u>diyaa</u> *bdpatg   Ws

2   <u>de diyaa</u>[1] +bdpatgs

for a long time he had been refusing but at last
he contributed his share

b   dhyaan na dene kii koSiS kii to sahii phir bhii

1   aaxirkaar us ko bhuukh <u>lagii</u> *bdtgp   Ws

2   <u>lag gaii</u> +bdtgsp

he tried to pay no attention it's true, but at
last he got hungry

It is important that some resistance be put up on
the part of the agent to the performance of the act that
he finally performs. Otherwise the simple rather than the
compound may occur:

c   mAI ne aag bujhaane kii bahut koSiS kii lekin wo

      aahiste aahiste phailtii gaii. aaxirkaar mAI ne

1   maalii ko <u>pukaaraa</u> (cu II.2) +bsdpatg

2   <u>pukaar liyaa</u> *bpag   Ws   Dd

i tried very hard to put out the fire but it went
on gradually spreading. at last i called the gar-
dener

Here there is no suggestion that the man fighting the
fire was resisting an impulse of his own or the entreaties
of another to call in extra help. It was simply an act

1/ Compound verbs when they occur with <u>aaxirkaar</u> often
   show an interposed emphatic <u>hii</u>:
   a   ...lekin aaxirkaar us ne <u>de hii diyaa</u> +bdpatgs

that suggested itself after his own efforts were exhausted. Compare d where the calling of the gardener is explicitly presented by the speaker as a pre-existing idea against which he struggles for some time:

d   kisii aur se madad mAAñte mujhe Saram aa rahii

       thii, lekin aaxirkaar mAI ne maalii ko

  1 2   <u>pukaaraa</u> *bdpg   Wst   <u>pukaar liyaa</u> +bsdpt *g

       i was ashamed to ask anyone else for help but at

       last i called the gardener

       It is on the basis of the contrast between c and d that it may be possible to consider the compound environment described here to be the complement to the simple environment described in section 4.3.2.7: 'lack of prior knowledge'. As complements to one another the two would form a distributed environment[2]: 'expected::unexpected action'.[3]

       4.3.3.5 Compound environments: <u>jab tak...na...</u> 'until'

       Verbs occurring in clauses introduced by the (negative) complementizer <u>jab tak...na...</u> 'until'[1] show

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2/ Distributed environments are discussed in 4.3.4.

3/ Where '(un)expected' refers not to the time but to the fact of an action's occurrence. See 4.3.2.7.c.

1/ Discussed from another angle in section 4.3.2.1.4.

a preference for compound manifestation:

a   gaay apne bachRe ko tab tak duudh pilaatii hai

   1   jab tak wo ghaas carne laayak <u>na ho jaae</u> +gapb

   2   <u>na ho</u> *gpb   Oa

       a cow suckles her calf until he is able to graze

This preference is apparently not so strong if the <u>jab</u>
<u>tak</u>-clause is in an indicative mood[2]:

a   gaay apne bachRe ko tab tak duudh pilaatii hai

   3   jab tak wo ghaas carne laayak <u>nahII ho jaataa</u>

   4   +gapb   <u>nahII hotaa</u> +b   Wga   *p

       Although strictly speaking this is not a case of
'culmination' (since the action of the <u>tab tak</u>-clause
need not necessarily directly result in or 'lead up to'
the event or action of the <u>jab tak</u>-clause[3]), it can be
seen as something closely related: the action expressed
by the verb in the <u>jab tak</u>-clause defines a point or
'peak' that delimits the durative action of the <u>tab tak</u>-
clause.[4]

2/ That optative:indicative is the differential factor
   here and not <u>na:nahII</u> can be seen by comparing a b & c:
   a 1 jab tak wo·mujhe paise <u>na de de</u> +pbga
     2   <u>na de</u> *bp   Wag
       tab tak mAI wahAA rukaa <u>rahUUgaa</u>
   b 1 jab tak wo mujhe paise <u>na de degaa</u> Wp   +bg   *a
     2   <u>na degaa</u> +pb   Wg   *a
       tab tak mAI wahAA rukaa <u>rahUUgaa</u>
   c 1 jab tak wo mujhe paise <u>nahII de degaa</u> Wp   +bga
     2   <u>nahII degaa</u> +pba   Wg
       tab tak mAI wahAA rukaa <u>rahUUgaa</u>
   abc i'll stay there until he gives me the money

<u>3/</u> See section 4.3.3.2.   <u>4/</u> See Seguin 1973.

This might be true
of COME, GO but
NOT of lena,
dena

4.3.3.6 Compound environments: involuntary acts,

evaded events

Verbs expressing either acts one performs in
spite of oneself or the occurrence of events one has
attempted to prevent show a compound tropism:

a   us baat par na socne kii bahut koSiS kii lekin

  1   tab bhii sab <u>yaad aa gayaa</u> +bg   Wp

  2   <u>yaad aayaa</u> *bg   +p

        i tried very hard not to think of it but even so
        it all came to mind

b 1   girne se bacte bacte mujhe <u>coT aa gaii</u> +bgp

  2   <u>coT aaii</u> *b   Wp   +g

        i got hurt trying to keep from falling down

c   apne par qaabuu rakhne kii koSiS ke baawɟuud bhii

  1 2   riitaa <u>hAs paRii</u> +gpb   <u>hAsii</u> *gpb

        in spite of her efforts to control herself rita
        laughed out loud

d   wo apne aap ko chipaanaa caahtaa thaa lekin bhuul

  1   se mujhe apnaa sahii naam <u>bataa diyaa</u> +gpb

  2 3   <u>bataa gayaa</u> +gpb   <u>bataayaa</u> *gb   Wp

        he wanted to keep his true identity a secret but
        inadvertently he told me his real name

        Without this connotation of inadvertence or in-

voluntariness the simple verb is possible (if not occa-

sionally preferred):

e 1   us baat par socaa to sab <u>yaad aa gayaa</u> +gpb

  2   <u>yaad aayaa</u> +gpb   (cf a)

i thought of it and it all came to mind

f 1   chaje se girte girte mujhe <u>coT aa gaii</u> +gpb

  2   <u>coT aaii</u> +gb Wp (cf b)

i got hurt falling from the balcony

g 1   naT ko daad dene ke lie riitaa <u>hAs paRii</u> +b   Wp

  2   <u>hAsii</u> +bp   (cf c)

rita laughed in order to encourage the village

actor

h 1   jaan bujh kar mujhe apnaa sahii naam <u>bataa diyaa</u>

  2   +g   Wpb   <u>bataa gayaa</u> +g *pb   (Kb)

  3   <u>bataayaa</u> +gpb

he intentionally told me his real name   (cf d)

It seems likely that the semantic feature that

differentiates sentence d from c in section 4.3.3.4 is

the one under discussion here.

4.3.3.7 Compound environments: <u>koii bhii</u> 'anyone'

When a verb occurs in construction with <u>koii bhii</u>

'anyone (at all)' or <u>kuch bhii</u> 'anything (at all)' in an

affirmative sentence it shows a marked preference for a

compound manifestation:

a   A: madraas kaafe kahAA hai?

       B: aap kanaaT sarkas par jaaie. wahAA koii bhii

  1 2   <u>bataaegaa</u> *bdpatg   Ws   <u>bataa degaa</u> +bsdpatg

  (3)   (<u>bataa legaa</u> *bsdpatg)

       A: where is madras cafe?

       B: go to connaught circus. there anybody will tell

       you

b   jis par use krodh aataa hai us par wo koii bhii

  1   ilzaam <u>lagaataa hai</u> *bdpa   Wst   +g

  2   <u>lagaa detaa hai</u> +bsdpatg

  (3)   (<u>lagaa letaa hai</u> *bsdpa   Wt   +g)

       he makes just any accusation against those who pro-

       voke his ire

c 1   un dinO amriikaa jaa kar kuch bhii <u>miltaa thaa</u>

  2   *bsdtp   Wg   <u>mil jaataa thaa</u> +bsdgp   *t

       if you went to america in those days you used to

       (be able to) get anything at all

       It seems that the compound is preferred in these

sentences because it is functioning as an alternate to mo-

dal sequences in <u>sak</u> 'be able; can'[1]. Aside from the fact

that the English glosses improve if an (English) modal is

supplied, we have the following indirect evidence: I. Im-

perative (d) or hortative (e) sentences (which do not ac-

1/ I am indebted to Mr. Subhash Bhatnagar for making this
   suggestion. It should be possible to adduce evidence
   more complete than that I have presented here in sup-
   port of his suggestion.

commodate modal $\underline{sak}^2$) do not prefer the compound even

though <u>koii bhii</u> or <u>kuch bhii</u> be present:

d 1   koii bhii kissaa <u>bataao</u> +bsdtgp

  2 (3) <u>bataa do</u> *b   +sdtgp   (<u>bataa lo</u> +b   *sdtgp)

      tell any story you like!

e   koii bhii <u>bataae</u> +bsdtgp

  2 (3) <u>bataa de</u> *bdp +stg   (<u>bataa le</u> +b   *sdtgp)

      mujhe koii farak nahII paRtaa

      let anyone tell! i don't care

f 1 2 kuch bhii <u>karo</u> +bsdtgp   <u>kar do</u> *b Wsp +dtg

  (3)   (<u>kar lo</u> +bsdtgp)

      do anything at all! (i don't care)

II. In those tenses in which <u>sak</u> occurs not as a modal

but as an (anti-)vector[3] we find that sentences corres-

ponding to a2 and c2 are not generally accepted:

g   un dinO kanaaT sarkas mE koii bhii Daalar kaa

  1   bhaaw <u>bataataa thaa</u> *bsdtp Wg

  2   <u>bataa detaa thaa</u> +bsdgp   *t   (modal)

      in those days in connaught circus anybody could

      quote the going rate for the dollar

h   us din kanaaT sarkas mE kisii ne bhii Daalar kaa

  1   bhaaw <u>bataayaa</u> *bdtp +sg

  2   <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bdt Bp Ws   +g   (non-modal)

<u>2</u>/ See point IV in section 3.2.6.

<u>3</u>/ See conclusion of discussion of points VII and VIII
   on sixth, seventh and eighth pages of section 3.2.6.

h   that day in connaught circus anybody quoted the

going rate for the dollar

i 1   amriikaa jaa kar kuch bhii <u>milaa thaa</u> *bsdtgp

  2   <u>mil gayaa thaa</u> *bsdtp +g   (non-modal) (cf c2)

when he went to america he got just anything

If further investigation supports a modal inter-

pretation of the compound verb here, this particular com-

pound environment will have to be set aside as one that

favors functionally exceptional vector sequences: comple-

tion either absolute or in the relative sense we have

introduced above (4.2.3) is in this particular environ-

ment <u>not</u> what is being expressed by the compound verb.[4]

4.3.3.8 Compound environments: temporal <u>ki</u>-clauses

If the complementizer <u>ki</u> is used to conjoin two

acts or events in such a way that the time of one is com-

pared to or defined in terms of the time of another then

the verb expressing the act or event so compared has a

compound manifestation:

a   raam ghar pahUcne hii waalaa thaa ki pulis ne use

  1 2 <u>pakRaa</u> *bdgp Wst   <u>pakaR liyaa</u> +bsdtgp[1]

4/ Compare the modal use of <u>le</u> in the unmarked present:
   a wo hindii <u>bol letaa hai</u> lekin boltaa kabhii nahII
      +pgb   he can speak hindi but never does
   (cf sentences l and m in section 3.2.6 above.)

1/ Speaker g requires <u>th@</u> in all these sequences (a-f).

a   ram was just about to arrive home when the police caught him

      raam abhii ghar pahUcaa hii thaa ki pulis ne use

1 2   pakRaa *bdgp   Wst   pakaR liyaa +bsdtgp

      no sooner did ram get home than the police nabbed him

c   raam ghar pahUc hii gayaa thaa ki pulis ne us ko

 1 2 pakRaa *bdgp   Wst   pakaR liyaa +bsdtgp

      ram had almost made it home when the police got him

The reaction of speakers to the simple verb in the ki-clause of a, b and c is to be contrasted with the same in a neutral environment (an independent statement of fact requiring neither preceding nor following elements of discourse[2]):

d   kyaa aap ko pataa calaa? pulis ne aaj subah raam

 1 2 ko pakRaa +bdg Ds Wtp   pakaR liyaa +bsdtgp

      have you heard? the police arrested ram this morning

Another example of the differentiality of the ki-clause:

e   sipaahii lauT kar nahII aa paae the ki ghaayal

 1   kaa praaNaant huaa *bdtgp   Ws

 2   ho gayaa +bsdtgp

      the soldiers had not yet been able to get back when the wounded man died

---

2/ See section 4.3.1 above.

f   kyaa aap ko pataa calaa? ghaayal kaa praaNaant

  1 2   aaj subah <u>huaa</u> +bsdg Wp *t <u>ho gayaa</u> +bsdtgp

        have you heard? the wounded man died this morning

Perhaps because it is better able to throw an action into relief, it is important that the location in time of two events be compared (or contrasted) via the complementizer <u>ki</u>. If other means are used the compared (or contrasted)[3] event may be expressed with a simple verb. For example, use of a relative – co-relative construction allows a simple verb:

g 1   pulis ne raam ko tab <u>pakaR liyaa</u> +bsgp Wd   *t

  2   <u>pakRaa</u> +bsdtgp

      jab wo ghar pahUcne hii waalaa thaa   (cf a)

      the police caught ram when he was just on the

      point of reaching home (NB: Here <u>when</u> introduces

---

3/ As opposed to the comparing (or contrasting) event: that is, the event <u>with</u> which the other is compared or contrasted. For example, in sentence a the time of the arrest is being compared or contrasted with the time of arrival, not the other way around. If the time of arrival were to be compared with the time of arrest one might say:
      pulis raam ko pakaRne hii waalii thii ki wo ghar
a b <u>pahUcaa</u> *bdtgp Ws   <u>pahUc gayaa</u> +bsdtgp
    the police were just about to arrest ram when he
    arrived home
For some speakers the left-hand clause (that is, the non-<u>ki</u>-clause) may have either a simple verb or a compound:
c   pulis raam ko <u>pakaR lene hii waalii thii</u> ki...+bsgp
    Wd   *t   (cf a)
    the police were on the verge of catching ram when..
d   raam ghar <u>pahUc jaane hii waalaa thaa</u> ki...+gp Wsd
    *t   (cf al-2 above)
    ram was on the verge of getting home when...

the subsidiary or 'contrasting' clause while in
sentence a <u>when</u> introduces the 'contrasted' clause)

It is also important that the times compared be
thrown into sharp contrast by the <u>ki</u>-clause. If the ut-
terance simply locates the time of one event in terms of
another with no contrast intended, the simple verb may
occur in the <u>ki</u>-clause:

h   kisii mariiz ko dekh kar lauT rahii thii ki yah

  1 2 aghaT ghaTit <u>ho gayaa</u> +bsdgp   <u>huaa</u> +bsp Wdg

     she was returning from seeing some patient when

     this unbelievable (thing) occurred (vl 208)

In g there is expressed the mere sequence of events with
no special attention drawn to their conjunction in time
or their disjunction in time. However, an emphatic adverb
of time or a more highly contrastive construction in the
first clause restricts the verbal manifestation in the
second:

i   wo abhii kisii mariiz ko dekh kar lauT rahii thii

  1 2 ki yah aghaT ghaTit <u>ho gayaa</u> +bsdgp <u>huaa</u> *bdg Wsp

     she was just returning from seeing some patient

     when this unlikely thing happened

j   wo kisii mariiz ko dekh kar lauT nahII paaii thii

  1 2 ki yah aghaT ghaTit <u>ho gayaa</u> +bsdgp <u>huaa</u> *bdg Wsp

     she had not yet quite gotten back from seeing some

     patient when this incredible event took place

It may also be noted that verbs of sense percep-
tion may occur in such ki-clauses under a simple mani-
festation:[4]

k   raam ghar pahUcne hii waalaa thaa ki us ne pulis

  1   ko aate hue dekh liyaa +bsgp   Wd

  2   dekhaa +bsd   Wgp   (cf a1)

      ram was just about to reach home when he saw the

      police coming

l   sipaahii lauT kar nahII aa paae the ki ghaayal ko

  1   bhuut dikhaaii de gayaa +bsdgp

  2   dikhaaii diyaa +bsd   Wgp   (cf e1)

      the soldiers had not yet been able to get back to

      him when the wounded man saw a ghost

That the compound verb usually occurs in ki-clauses
of the type discussed here is consonant with a view of the
compound verb as expressing the completion of one action
relative to another. The temporal ki-clause is interesting
in that it forces us to pay especial attention to the con-
cept 'relative to'. It will be noted that in sentence b
both the actions are completed. In fact, the action ex-
pressed in the ki-clause is later than that of the con-
trasting clause. However in b the speaker chooses to view
this later action as complete relative to the earlier one.

4/ Which suggests that subsets of verbs may have a greater
   or lesser inherent tendency toward or preference for
   either a simple or compound manifestation. See 4.4.

This is to say that the action of arriving home (and the resultant state of being home) is intended by the speaker to be the background on which the action of the police is to be seen in relief.[5]

4.3.4 Distributed environments

Distributed environments are those in which the simple:compound verb are not in a privative contrast but in mutual contrast. In the environments we have examined up to now the presence (or absence) of a given semantic or syntactic feature has restricted the manifestation of the verb to either the simple or the compound. However, in the absence (or presence) of that same feature either manifestation of the verb is possible. Thus the presence of _sak_ 'be able' in the verb sequence restricts the manifestation to the simple. In the absence of _sak_ either the simple or the compound may occur (unless some other restricting factor is operating). Conversely, in the absence of the semantic feature ACTION or EVENT only the simple verb is possible (as in generic and stative expressions[1]). When either of these is present either manifestation is possible. Thus 'simple environments' and 'compound envi-

5/ The possibility of viewing a completed act as relatively incomplete is further discussed in section 4.3.4.3.

1/ See section 4.3.2.6.

presence of a feature vs. neutral of that feature.
Absence of the feature both SV & CV ok
(presence)

presence (absence) of a feature
will decide either of CV or SV.

ronments' may be termed 'privative environments'.

In distributed environments on the other hand the presence (or absence) of a given feature conditions either the simple or the compound verb while the absence (or presence) of that feature conditions the opposite manifestation and only that. We have already seen an example of such an environment in our discussion of jab tak...tab tak...-constructions:[2] In these the verb expressing the relatively incomplete action (that of the jab tak-clause) may have only a simple manifestation; that expressing the relatively complete action (in the tab tak-clause), only a compound manifestation.

4.3.4.1 Distributed environments: 'after'::'before'

If the speaker wishes to compare the position in time of two disjunct acts or events he will express the earlier of the two with a compound verb and the later with a simple verb:

a   mere wahAA pahUcne se pahle sab widyaarthii klaas

   1 2   mE aa gae the +basdgp   Bt   aae the *bsadtgp

        mere wahAA pahUc jaane se pahle sab widyaarthii

   3 4   klaas mE aa gae the *badtg Wp   aae the *basdtgp
                               +s

2/ In section 4.2.3 above. It seems likely that further
    research will show the simple environment described in
    section 4.3.2.7 and the compound environment described
    in 4.3.3.4 may be collapsed into a distributed environ-

a   all the students had come to class before i got

      there

Any utterance which specifically contrasts the temporal

locations of two acts or events will exhibit this dis-

tribution of simple and compound verbs:

b   A: mAI ne das baje aap ko <u>fon kiyaa</u> lekin aap

      nahII mile +basdtgp

      (A: mAI ne das baje aap ko <u>fon kar liyaa</u> lekin aap

      nahII mile *badtp   Ws   +g)[1]

  1   B: hAA bhaaii, mAI gyaarah baje <u>aayaa thaa</u> +basdtg
                                      +p

  2   <u>aa gayaa thaa</u> *basdtgp

  3   B: nahII? mAI to nau baje hii <u>aayaa thaa</u> *badtgp Ws

  4   <u>aa gayaa thaa</u> +basdtgp

b   A: i tried to phone you at ten o'clock but i could

      not get you at home

  1 2 B: yes, well i got in at eleven

  3 4 B: really? but i got in at nine

Here the stated times in b2 and b3 conflict with what is

implied about the <u>paurwaapary</u> (priority and posteriority)

of the two actions of phoning and coming home by the use

of the compound in the former and the simple in the latter.

1/ For the unacceptability of the compound verb here see
discussion ad 4.2.f3 above. The restriction against the
compound here takes precedence over the restriction
against the simple so that b1 is acceptable even though
the prior action is also expressed with a simple verb.
The precedence of one environment over another is dis-
cussed below in section 4.3.5: 'Conflicting environ-
ments'.

What is being given here is essentially a more
general description of the semantic factors operating in
the distribution of the simple:compound verb in the <u>jab</u>
<u>tak...tab tak</u>-construction treated earlier.[2] In fact the
construction with <u>se pahle</u> (cf sentence set a, this sec-
tion) is practically synonymous with it.[3]

The influence of the two terms of this environ-
ment takes precedence over the inherent aspectual proper-
ties of the main verb to a large degree:

c 1   us kaa pataa <u>bhuul jaane</u> se pahle *badtg Wp +s

  2   <u>bhuulne</u> se pahle +basdgp   Bt

      use kahII likh lo

      write down his address somewhere before you forget

2/ In section 4.2.3.

3/ For a few speakers the two constructions differ in that
    the one in <u>jab tak...tab tak</u> demands different agents
    in each clause:
    a   jab tak <u>mAI</u> wahAA pahUcaa tab tak <u>mAI ne</u> kitaab
           paRh lii thii *bt ?p +asdg
    b   jab tak <u>mAI</u> wahAA pahUcaa tab tak <u>raam ne</u> kitaab
           paRh lii thii +basdtgp
    while that in <u>se pahle</u> does not:
    c   wahAA pahUcne se pahle <u>mAI ne</u> kitaab paRh lii thii
           +basdtgp
    d   <u>mere</u> wahAA pahUcne se pahle <u>raam ne</u> kitaab paRh lii
           thii +basdtgp
    a c by the time i got there i had read the book
    b d   ram had read the book
    Furthermore, <u>se pahle</u> permits vector <u>le</u> in the sense
    of <u>paa</u> 'be able; manage' whereas <u>jab tak</u> does not:
    e   mere yah kaam puuraa <u>kar lene</u> se pahle hii pAAc
           baj gae +bstp   OKd   *g   it struck five
           before i was able to get this work done
    f   jab tak mAI ne yah kaam <u>kar liyaa</u> tab tak pAAc baj
           gae the *bdtgp   OKs   by the time i was
           able to get this work done it had already struck 5

d   mere wahAA pahUcne se pahle wo us ghar mE kuch

1   din <u>rah liyaa thaa</u> +basdtgp

2   <u>rahaa thaa</u> *bd   Wtp Og   +as

       he had stayed some time in that house before i

       got there

Thus <u>bhuul jaa</u> 'forget' which has an inherent preference

for compound manifestation[4] appears as a simple verb in

c while <u>rah</u> 'stay; live' despite a preference for simple

manifestation[5] is prefered by some speakers under a com-

pound manifestation in sentence set d.

     Anti-vectors <u>paa</u> and <u>sak</u> occurring as they do in

many negative environments may occur with <u>jab tak</u>[6] and

with <u>se pahle</u>:

e 1   us ke apne makaan kii caardiwaarii <u>banaa paane</u>

  2   +bsdtgp   <u>banaa sakne</u> +bsdtgp

       se pahle hii ham ne us par korT kes kar diyaa thaa

       before he was able to put up an enclosure around

       his house we had entered a suit against him[7]

4/ See section 4.4.2 below.

5/ See section 4.4.1 below.

6/ See sentences 4.2.3.u and 4.2.3.ae.

7/ The <u>se pahle</u>-construction may occur with two finite
   clauses:
   a   is se pahle ki mallaah use <u>sAbhaal paate</u> wo phir
      usii tarah bhAwar mE daaxil ho kar ghuum gaii
      (act 125) +bsdtgp
      before the boatmen were able to get it under con-
      trol the boat once again in the same way entered
      the whirlpool and spun around

There is other evidence linking <u>jab tak...</u> and <u>...se pahle</u> to overtly negative environments: I. In English the distribution of <u>some</u>:<u>any</u> in equivalent expressions is parallel to that of the compound:simple verb:

f 1 he arrived before i could get <u>some</u> work done *

 2   <u>any</u> work done +

g 1 i got <u>some</u> work done before he arrived +

 2   <u>any</u> work done before he arrived *

II. In some languages an overt negative element appears in the clause expressing the posterior action. In French:

h 1 2 sauve-toi avant qu'il <u>n'arrive</u> (=<u>arrive</u>)

   get out of here before he shows up

It is found in Jing Phaw (a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Northern Burma near its border with Assam):

i Si ñai garAI? dai dE? <u>Nsa</u> yaañ amu galo lA ai +LZ

  he did the job before i got there

  (<u>N</u>- = negative particle; <u>sa</u> = 'arrive')

The fact that covert (fl-2) as well as overt negative elements are found in clauses expressing the posteriority of some event with respect to another is further evidence in support of the relative concept of completion that we are claiming to be the meaning of the compound verb in Hindi: it is from the stand-point of (or at the moment of) the prior action that the posterior one is, as yet, <u>not</u>. (cf section 4.2.3)

If an utterance locates two acts or events in time without contrasting the priority of the one and the posteriority of the other, then the earlier is expressed not with a compound but with a simple one:

j 1   us ne duunii Sakti se duusraa dhakkaa <u>maaraa</u> /

  2   <u>maar diyaa</u> to aadhii diiwaar gir paRii

       j1: +basdtgp   (j1 from pr 12) / j2: *bsdtgp   +a

       he butted the wall with redoubled strength and

       half of it fell over

In sentence j1 the speaker has not contrasted the mutual priority and posteriority of two events. Rather he has narrated a sequence of cause and effect in which the temporal priority of the former to the latter may be taken for granted. In such cases other factors (such as <u>culmi-</u><u>nation</u>[8]) take over and determine a compound manifestation for the final event[9] and a simple one for the action that leads up to it. It is for this reason (that is, to eliminate sequences of causes and effect from the scope of the distributed environment under consideration here) that we have specified that the two acts or events whose position in time the speaker wishes to contrast must be <u>disjunct</u>.[10]

8/ See section 4.3.3.2 above.

9/ Finality in a series of related actions has been noted as an environment favoring the compound verb by Barker, vol I, p 391; Hacker 1958, paragraph 94 and McGregor 1972, p 105.

10/ See first sentence, this section

4.3.4.2 Distributed environments: jyO hii::tyO hii

Another two-clause environment which distributes simple and compound verb sequences each to a particular clause is that which translates the English conjunctions as soon as, no sooner...than..., etc: jyO hii...tyO hii... (and its synonym jaise hii...waise hii...):

a 1'   jyO hii mAI ne raam ko rasiid de dii *btp Wsd

  1"   +g[1]   dii +bsdtgp

  2'   tyO hii us ne mujhe saare paise die *bdtp Ws   +g

  2"   de die +bsdtp Og

       as soon as i gave ram the receipt he gave me all
       the money

b 1'   jaise hii raam ne mujhe saare paise de die *bt

  1"   Wsdp +g   die +bsdtgp

  2'   waise hii mAI ne use rasiid dii *bdtp Ws   +g

  2"   de dii +bsdtgp

       as soon as ram gave me all the money i gave him
       the receipt

This environment is another example[2] of one action's defining or setting off another; the action so set off being expressed with a compound verb (a2", b2") and the

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[1]/ Speaker g accepts a1' only with a2", not with a2'.

[2]/ Other examples are discussed in section 4.3.3.8 and in section 4.3.4.3.

defining action (the temporal background or "foil") being expressed with a simple verb.[3]

4.3.4.3 Distributed environments: <u>barely</u>::<u>almost</u>

When occurring with the particle <u>hii</u> and when immediately followed by a temporal <u>ki</u>-clause[1] the simple: compound verb is semantically distributed: the simple verb indicates that the action has been 'just barely' performed and the compound, that the action has been 'almost' performed (or has 'just barely' failed to be performed):

a 1   mAI tapediq kii bimaarii se <u>mar hii gayaa thaa</u> ki

    DaakTar ne meraa ilaaj kar diyaa +bsdgp

    i had nearly died of tuberculosis when the doctor

    cured me

  1   mAI tapediq kii bimaarii se <u>maraa hii thaa</u> ki

b   apsaraaE mujhe swarg le aaII +bsdgp

c   mujhe merii biiwii ke paas dafnaa diyaa gayaa +bsd +gp

    i had just died of tuberculosis when

b   the apsaras brought me to heaven

c   they buried me near my wife

3/ McGregor 1972 gives a number of what appear to be counter examples. However, most speakers do not accept them:
  a 1 jyO hii wahAA pahUcUUgaa tyO hii patr <u>likhUUgaa</u>
    2 (ohg 125) *bdt Wsp +g <u>likh dUUgaa</u> +bsdtgp
    i'll write as soon as i get there

1/ See section 4.3.3.8.

Replacing the ki-clause in a1 with that of b1 or c1 (and
vice versa) leads to self-contradictory sentences:

a 2   mAI tapediq kii bimaarii se maraa hii thaa ki

       DaakTar ne meraa ilaaj kar diyaa *bdgp Ws

       i had just died of TB when the doctor cured me

  2   mAI tapediq kii bimaarii se mar hii gayaa thaa ki

b   apsaraaE mujhe swarg le aaII *bdgp   Ws

c   mujhe merii biiwii ke paas dafnaa diyaa gayaa *bsd
                                                      *gp
       i had nearly died of tb when

b   the apsaras brought me to heaven

c   they buried me near my wife

       'almost' in temporally non-contrastive utterances
is rendered in the same way:[2]

d   tumhaarii to is ne jaan hii le lii thii +bsdgp

       he had almost killed you (pr 6)

e   aap kii naukrii pakkii ho hii gaii hai +bsdgp

       your job is practically settled

But 'barely' in its non-temporal sense has a variety of
equivalents:

f   us kaa waar thoRe se hii xaalii gayaa +bdgp   *s

       he just barely missed

g   us kii golii niSaane par zaraa sii hii lagii +bsdp
                                                      *g
       he just barely hit the target

2/ hii in concert with the compound verb does not denote
   'almost' if the compound is conditioned by aaxirkaar:
   a   aaxirkaar raam   mar hii gayaa
       at last ram died +bsdgp (...almost died: *bsdgp)

not all of which demand the simple verb:

h 1 2   raam baal baal <u>bacaa</u> +bsdgp   <u>bac gayaa</u> +bsdgp

ram just barely escaped (literally 'by a hair')

The distribution of the simple:compound verb in the meanings 'barely':'almost' at first sight seems to create considerable difficulties for an aspectual interpretation of the compound:simple opposition: Here the compound verb denotes non-completion (by however small a margin it be); and the simple verb denotes completion (even if 'just barely'). However if one considers that the adverb <u>almost</u> focuses attention not on the non-completion it strictly speaking denotes but on the successful completion of an action that the agent has just missed achieving, then the use of compound verbs in such expressions may not seem to conflict with their usual aspectual function. Similarly, the adverb <u>just barely</u>, while literally expressing completion, focuses attention on the failure to complete which the agent has just managed to avoid. Thus <u>just barely</u> and <u>almost</u> do not merely express completion or non-completion but rather express the proximity of each to its opposite. That is why 'barely hitting' is equivalent to 'almost missing'; and 'almost hitting', to 'barely missing'. And that is why in Hindi expressions of completion or of non-completion in such double-edged contexts bear a resemblance in form to the expression of

their respective opposites.[3]

4.3.5 Conflicting environments

It will have no doubt occurred to the reader that
features whether syntactic or semantic of both simple
and compound environments might operate on a single verb
sequence. One would like to know whether in such instances
one type of environment 'overcomes' the influence of an-
other, or whether there is a compromise with either sim-
ple or compound verb possible. Is it possible to rank en-
vironments according to their relative power to determine
the manifestation of the verb? Are all environments of one
type able to overcome any environment of the other type?

The answers to such questions are important not
only in a complete account of the occurrence of the com-
pound:simple verb in such complex environments themselves
but also for the evidence they may provide for the cor-
rect formulation at an abstract level of derivation of
the verb sequence in simpler environments.[1] When one con-
siders that some verbs have an inherent tendency toward

3/ Formal accommodation to or reflection of other seman-
   tically double-edged environments is discussed in sec-
   tions 4.3.2.1.3, 4.3.2.1.4 and 4.3.2.2.

1/ Bahl 1967, for example, suggests that the compound
   verb is basic with simple verb forms arising through
   transformations deleting the vector verb component
   of the verb phrase: pp 347ff.

a simple manifestation[2]; and others, toward a compound[3]; that the power of some simple or compound environments to condition simple or compound manifestations of the verb varies with mood[4] or tense[5]; and that not all environments enjoy an equal degree of consensus among speakers as to their effect on the verb; then the potential complexity of a full account of conflicting environments becomes apparent. What is undertaken here is of necessity most fragmentary.

The verb sequence whose behavior in conflicting environments we shall examine is one with no strong inherent predisposition to either a simple or compound manifestation[6]: bataa:bataa de 'tell'.

a   kal us ne mujhe is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2   bataayaa +bdsgp   bataa diyaa +bdsgp

      yesterday she told me her name in this room[7]

As control we have tested the behavior of this sequence in some of the environments already discussed:

2/ See 4.4.1 below.   3/ See 4.4.2 below.

4/ For an example see 4.3.2.1.3.fn 9 above.

5/ For examples see 4.3.2.1.2 and 4.3.2.8.a2, c2, j and k.

6/ Compare 4.3.1.a1-2 and d1-2.

7/ Although we give a single gloss here, it is not to be understood that a1 and a2 have exactly the same meanings (speaker d for one feels that a2 has the same connotation as b2 with its explicit aaxirkaar). See footnote 1 in section 4.3.1.

b   aaxirkaar us ne mujhe kal is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataayaa</u> *bdp Ws   +g   <u>bataa diyaa</u> +bsdpg

      at last...   (cf 4.3.3.4)

c   kal jab tak raam yahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne mujhe

  1   is kamre mE apnaa naam <u>bataayaa thaa</u> *bsdp   Wg

  2   <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg (cf 4.2.3)

      yesterday by the time ram got here...

d   us ne mujhe kal isii kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bdp   +sg   <u>bataayaa</u> +bdpg   Ws

      ...in this very room...   (cf 4.3.2.2)

e   us ne mujhe kal is kamre mE apnaa naam do baar

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bdp   Wsg <u>bataayaa</u> +bsdpg

      ...twice...   (cf 4.3.2.8)

f   kewal us ne mujhe kal is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bdp   Wsg   <u>bataayaa</u> +bsdpg

      only she...   (cf 4.3.2.2)

g   kal jab tak us ne mujhe is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bsdpg   <u>bataayaa</u> +bsdpg

      tab tak raam cal diyaa thaa

      yesterday by the time she told me her name in this

      room ram had (already) left (cf 4.2.3)

Among these six it appears to be the compound environments

that overpower the simple:

h   aaxirkaar us ne mujhe kal isii kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataayaa</u> *b   Wsp +dg   <u>bataa diyaa</u> +bspg   *d

(the influence of b over that of d)

i   kal jab tak raam wahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne mujhe

1   isii kamre mE apnaa naam <u>bataayaa thaa</u> *bdp   Wsg

2   <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg

(the influence of c over that of d)[8]

j   kal jab tak raam wahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne mujhe

1   is kamre mE apnaa naam do baar <u>bataayaa thaa</u> *bdp

2   Wg   +s   <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg

(the influence of b over that of e)

even when simple environments reinforce each other:

k   kal jab tak raam yahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne mujhe

1   isii kamre mE apnaa naam do baar <u>bataayaa thaa</u> *bdp

2   Wsg   <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg

(the influence of c over that of d and e combined)
However, the influence of <u>kewal...hii</u> exceeds

that of any compound environment:

l   kal jab tak raam yahAA pahUcaa tab tak kewal us

      ne hii mujhe is kamre mE apnaa naam

1 2   <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u>[9] *bdp   Ws   <u>bataayaa thaa</u> +bsdpg

even when compound environments reinforce one another:

m   kal jab tak raam yahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne aaxir-

      kaar kewal mujhe hii is kamre mE apnaa naam

1 2   <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u> *bdp   Wsg   <u>bataayaa thaa</u> +bsdpg

8/ Compare sentence set j in section 4.3.2.2.

9/ Compare sentence set n in section 4.3.2.2.

(the influence of f over that of c and b combined)
In a two-place distributed environment like <u>jab tak...tab</u>
<u>tak...</u> the simple environment overpowers compound envi-
ronments:

n   kal jab tak us ne aaxirkaar mujhe is kamre mE ap-

  1 2   naa naam <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bdp   Wsg <u>bataayaa</u> +bsdpg

       tab tak raam yahAA pahUc gayaa thaa

       <u>hii</u> with the simple verb in the meaning of 'just
barely' (cf 4.3.4.3) overpowers compound environments:

o   aaxirkaar us ne mujhe kal is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa hii thaa</u> Dbsdpg <u>bataayaa hii thaa</u> +bsd

                                                     +pg

       ki itne mE raam yahAA pahUc gayaa   (cf b)

       she finally had just barely told me her name in

       this room yesterday when raam got here

p   kal jab tak raam yahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne mujhe

  1   is kamre mE apnaa naam <u>bataa hii diyaa thaa</u> Dbsdpg

  2   <u>bataayaa hii thaa</u> +bsdpg   (cf c)

       she had just barely told me her name in this room

       yesterday by the time ram got here

       <u>hii</u> with the compound verb in the meaning of 'al-
most' overpowers simple environments (at least those that
are semantically congruous with it):

q   us ne kal mujhe is kamre mE apnaa naam do baar

  1   <u>bataayaa hii thaa</u> Dbsg *dp

  2   <u>bataa hii diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg   (cf e)

q   she almost told me her name twice in this room

      yesterday

r   us ne kal isii kamre mE mujhe apnaa naam

1   <u>bataayaa hii thaa</u> Dbsd   *pg (if non-final, OKg)

2   <u>bataa hii diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg   (cf d)

      ...in this very room...

s   kal us ne kewal mujhe hii is kamre mE apnaa naam

1   <u>bataayaa hii thaa</u> *bpg Dsd (if non-final, OKg)

2   <u>bataa hii diyaa thaa</u> +bsdpg   (cf f)

      yesterday in this room she almost told her name to

      only me

      If the simple verb is expressing conation[11] then

compound environments do not prevail:

t   kal us ne mujhe is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bd   Wsp +g <u>bataayaa</u> +bsdpg

      lekin Sor gul kii wajah se mAI nahII sun sakaa

      she tried to tell me her name in this room yester-

      day but because of all the racket i couldn't hear

      her

u   kal aaxirkaar us ne mujhe is kamre mE apnaa naam

  1 2 <u>bataa diyaa</u> *bd   Wsp +g <u>bataayaa</u> +bsdpg

      lekin mAI nahII sun sakaa

      at last she tried to tell me her name in this room

      yesterday but i couldn't hear her

11/ See section 4.2. For speaker g all of these sentences

v   kal jab tak raam yahAA pahUcaa tab tak us ne mujhe

1   is kamre mE apnaa naam <u>bataa diyaa thaa</u> *bdp +sg

2   <u>bataayaa thaa</u> +bsdpg   lekin Sor gul kii

      wajah se mAI nahII sun sakaa   (cf c)

      yesterday by the time ram got here she had tried

      to tell me her name in this room but because of

      all the racket i was unable to hear her

      It is not our intention to examine the relative

strength of all the two dozen or so environments we have

discussed in Section Four. However several interesting

things can be said of the group of nine that have been

compared here in sentence sets h through v: I. These nine

may be partially ordered with respect to their power to

prevail over other environments:

      Group I. 'barely', 'almost', conative simple

      Group II. <u>kewal...hii</u> (limiter <u>hii</u>)

      Group III. <u>jab tak...</u>, <u>tab tak...</u>

      Group IV. <u>aaxirkaar</u>, <u>baar</u>

      Group V. deictic <u>hii</u>

II. This partial ordering is not arbitrary. We can rede-

fine these groups in terms of progressively less critical

semantic functions:

      Group I. Absolute completion (or incompletion)

      Group II. Absolute restriction on completion

      Group III. Relative completion (or incompletion)

Group IV. Qualification of completion

Group V. Focus element

That these rubrics are tentative and essentially impres-
sionistic is obvious. However, an inkling of the vastly
greater difference the manifestation of the simple:com-
pound verb makes in Group I as opposed to any of the
other groups may be had by considering that replacing a
simple verb with a compound or a compound with a simple
in a Group I environment does not simply yield an odd or
less acceptable sentence but reverses the meaning of the
verb phrase altogether. Given this fact, it is quite na-
tural that Group I environments should overcome all the
others. III. The degree of consensus among speakers with
regard to the power of environments to determine manifes-
tation is in general parallel to the degree to which the
environments are able to overcome other environments. In
other words, the more speakers are agreed that environ-
ment X has effect Y; the more likely environment X pre-
vails over others:

Group I. 4.2.c3: *bsdtgap; 4.3.4.3.a2: *bdgp   Ws

Group II. 4.3.2.2.k3: *bdtpg   +s

Group III. 4.2.3.a2: *gpab; 4.2.3.a3: *pab   Og

Group IV. 4.3.3.4.al: *bdpatg   Ws; 4.3.2.8.a2:

      *bdtg   +sp

Group V. 4.3.2.2.hl: *bdt   +sgp

4.4 Verbs inherently simple or inherently compound

Some verbs exhibit a preference for simple or for compound manifestation which is to some degree independent of the environments they are found in. Usually such inherently simple or inherently compound verbs have meanings which do not accommodate the semantic contrasts that are associated with the simple:compound opposition. Thus an examination of the meanings of such verbs may throw further light on the functions of the simple:compound opposition or at least corroborate the conclusions we have arrived at already.

4.4.1 Simplicia tantum

Some main verbs have a relative tendency or an exclusive preference for a simple manifestation:

a 1   raam ne siitaa ko saath calne <u>diyaa</u> +bsdgp

  2   <u>de diyaa</u> *bsdgp

       ram let sita come along with him

b   siitaa ke cale jaane se raam ko baRaa dukh

  1 2 <u>huaa</u> +bsdgp   .   <u>ho gayaa</u> *bdg   Ws   Vp

       ram was much aggrieved that sita had gone away

       One important class of such simplicia tantum has

been noticed by Bahl (1967, p 367): (<u>k</u> = <u>K</u>. Bahl)

c 1   us ko bahut sukh <u>huaa hai</u> +kgb   Ws   (*d)   *p

2   <u>ho gayaa hai</u> *kb   +sgp   (*d)

   he has become very happy

He compares these to the semantically corresponding ad-

jectival construction:

d 1   wo bahut sukhii <u>huaa hai</u> +k   Wbgsp   *d

2   <u>ho gayaa hai</u> +kbgsdp

   he has become very happy

without isolating the differential factor[1]. This class

consists of predicates (formed usually with the main verb

<u>ho</u> 'become') which express the onset of some physical or

emotional state. The 'experiencing subject' governs the

postposition <u>ko</u>.[2] Such utterances are not absolutely re-

sistant to compound manifestation:

e   jab tak mAI wahAA pahUcaa tab tak siitaa ke cale

1   jaane se raam ko baRaa dukh <u>huaa thaa</u> *dsp Ub Wg

2   <u>ho gayaa thaa</u> +dsgp   *b   (cf b)

   by the time i got there ram had become very unhap-

   py over sita's departure

   Although the questions raised by Bahl's set of con-

1/ unless we accept the single prefatory remark:
       "It may be interesting to observe the manner in
       which the selectional constraints of the tertiary
       level operate when a verb is +(+bilateral) but
       +(-juxtaposed).": p 366.
   as an explanation. (These features are nowhere defined
   nor is their application to a particular verb anywhere
   justified by Bahl.)

2/ For a fuller description see Masica 1971, pp 201-12.

trasting examples (c1-2 and d1-2) deserve much more de-
tailed consideration then we give them here, it appears
that the completion of an event (cf c2) is not quite the
same thing as the completion of a change in state (cf d2)
and it is this implication of completion in c2 that con-
flicts with the inchoative sense of kisii ko dukh ho.

Simplicia tantum like de 'let' (cf a) and paR 'be
obliged to, have to' always express completion not only
of the act of allowing (or of the inception of the state
of being obliged) which they themselves express but also
of the action expressed by the verbs they govern. Thus,
in sentence a the use of de (as opposed to, say, ijaazat
de 'give permission') implies that Sita did indeed come
along with Ram (contrast g and h):

a 1   raam ne siitaa ko saath calne diyaa +bsdgp

       ram let sita come with him

f   raam ne siitaa ko saath calne kii ijaazat dii

      +bsdg   OKp

      ram gave sita permission to come with him

g   raam ne siitaa ko saath calne diyaa lekin wicaar

      badal kar wo ghar par hii rahii *bsdgp

      ram let sita come with him but changing her mind

      she stayed home

h   raam ne siitaa ko saath calne kii ijaazat dii le-

      kin wicaar badal kar wo ghar par hii rahii +bsdgp

h   ram gave sita permission to come with him but

         changing her mind she stayed home

         Completion of the governed act is one of the fea-

tures discriminating paR 'have to' from, say, caahiye

'ought to, should':

i   kal mujhe dillii jaanaa paRegaa lekin nahII jaa-

         UUgaa *bsd   +gp

         tomorrow i'll have to go to delhi but i won't

j   kal mujhe dillii jaanaa caahiye lekin nahII jaa-

         UUgaa +bsdpg

         tomorrow i ought to go to delhi but i won't

         Given these properties of de 'let' and paR 'have

to' it may be argued that they occur as simple verbs be-

cause given the absence of the contrast complete:incom-

plete in their meanings, compound manifestation is re-

dundant. However in compound environments the compound

manifestation of paR is possible while that of de never

occurs:[3]

k   jab tak mAI pahUcaa tab tak use dillii jaanaa

   1 2   paRaa thaa +gs Wb *p paR gayaa thaa +bp Ws *g

         by the time i arrived he had had to go to delhi

L 1   aaxirkaar use dillii jaanaa paRaa +bsgp

   2   paR gayaa +s   Wbp *g

         finally he had to go to delhi

3/ For sentence set k1-2 and m1-2 see section 4.2.3. For
   sentence set L1-2 and n1-2 see section 4.3.3.4.

m   jab tak mAI pahUcaa tab tak raam ne ise dillii

  1 2   cale jaane <u>diyaa thaa</u>[4] +bsgp   <u>de diyaa thaa</u> *bsg
                                                             Wp
      by the time i arrived ram had let him go to delhi

n 1   aaxirkaar raam ne use dillii jaane <u>diyaa</u> +bsgp

  2   <u>de diyaa</u> *bsgp

      ram finally let him go to delhi

Thus a main verb may be inherently simple either because the action or event it expresses is hardly if ever conceivable as completed[5] or because that action or event is always conceived of as complete. In the former case a compound manifestation is contradictory; in the latter, vacuous.

4.4.2 Composita tantum

Some main verbs have an inherent tendency toward a compound manifestation:

a 1   merii dost is baat se <u>jal uThii</u> +sdpbg

  2   <u>jalii</u> *dpbg[1] +s

      this made my girl friend very jealous/angry

---

[4] It is interesting to note that in a strongly compound environment like that of <u>tab tak</u>... the governed verb must appear in a compound manifestation:
    jab tak mAI pahUcaa tab tak raam ne ise dillii
a b <u>jaane</u> diyaa thaa *bp Wg <u>cale jaane</u> diyaa thaa +bg
                                                 +p

[5] See section 4.3.2.6 for further examples of this.

[1] If there is stress on the <u>is</u> of <u>is baat se</u> then speaker g finds a2 acceptable. See section 4.3.2.2 ad fn 10.

b   tumhE pataa calaa? raam yah kaam karne se

   1 2   <u>uub gayaa</u> +bsgp   *d^2 <u>uubaa</u> *bsgpd

         have you heard? ram got sick of doing this job

c 1   wo aap kii kitaab laanaa <u>bhuul gaii</u> +bsdpg

   2   <u>bhuulii</u> *bsdpg

         she forgot to bring your book

d 1   yah laRkaa bahut yogy <u>jaan paRtaa hai</u> +bsdpg

   2   <u>jaantaa hai</u> *bsdpg

         this boy seems quite competent

         Preference for compound manifestation has occas-
ionally been mentioned in the literature[3], although no
attempts have been made to offer any explanation of it.
We make here a few suggestions toward a solution to the
problem even though some inherently compound verbs (es-
pecially those represented by <u>uub jaa</u> 'get sick of' in
sentence set b) have resisted our efforts to provide a
coherent explanation.

         Sequences like <u>jaan paR</u> 'seem' (cf dl-2)[4] and <u>le</u>

<hr>

<u>2/</u> Speaker d will accept bl with <u>uub gayaa hai</u>.

<u>3/</u> Jelovkov 1963, p 101, cites <u>bhuul jaa</u> 'forget' and <u>so</u>
    <u>jaa</u> 'go to sleep'. The latter seems not so strongly
    tropic for compound manifestation as <u>bhuul</u>:
    a   aaj subah is kamre mE raam <u>so gayaa</u> +pb   (-thaa +g)
    b   <u>soyaa</u>   Wpb   (-<u>thaa</u> +g)
        this morning ram went to sleep in this room
    Gaeffke 1967, p 38, cites <u>jaan paR</u> 'seem' and Bahl '67,
    lists a number of idioms in <u>utar</u> 'come down': p 366.

<u>4/</u> Guru, p 319, lists <u>sun paR</u> 'be heard'?, <u>dekh paR</u> 'be
    visible'?, <u>suujh paR</u> 'be perceptible'?, and <u>samajh paR</u>
    'be understandable'? He gives no examples of usage

jaa 'take (away)'[5], though composed of two verb roots
each must be considered unit stems. For one thing they
occur freely in negative environments:

e   wo hamE apne saath nahII le gaii +bpg

         she didn't take us with her

f   arabii faarsii ke SabdO kaa muul ruup sarwatr di-

         khlaane kii zaruurat nahII jaan paRii +bsdpg

         it did not seem necessary to show the basic form

         of arabic and persian words in every case[6]

Furthermore they occasionally (in le jaa's case, only for

speaker b) are found with vector verbs:

g   use skuuTar par biThaa kar sTeSan le jaa lEge +b[7]

         *pg

         i'll take him to the station on my scooter

h   us kii AAkhO se hii mujhe jaan paR gayaa +pb   *g

         ki wo cor hogii

         i could tell from her eyes she must be a cheat

5/ Cf remarks on le jaa in Burton-Page 1957, p 472, fn 4.

6/ Sentence f is from the bhuumikaa of brihat hindii koS.

7/ This sentence was uttered as quoted here by speaker b's
   brother in Dehra Dun where le jaa le as the compound
   counterpart of le jaa is very common. Other sequences:
   a   is makaan kii gandagii apne Trak mE le jaa maarnaa
       +b   *gp
       take away the rubbish from this house in your truck
   b   mAI galtii se un ke bacce kaa khilaunaa le jaa bai-
       Thaa +bp   Og
       by mistake i went away with their kid's toy
   le jaa as a unit stem is discussed in section 3.4.3.
   le jaa as a unit vector verb is to be noted: 3.6.13.

<u>bhuul jaa</u> 'forget' is one[8] of a number of verbs denoting changes in mental states which in contrast to verbs denoting changes in physical or emotional states[9] prefer a compound manifestation in neutral environments:

i 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? raam <u>maan gayaa</u> +bsdpg

  2 3   raam ne <u>maanaa</u> Wbsdpg[10]   raam <u>maanaa</u> *bsdpg

      ki is mE tumhaaraa koii doS nahII hai

      have you heard? ram has agreed that you were not

      to blame

j 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? raam <u>samajh gayaa</u> +bsdpg

  2 3   raam ne <u>samjhaa</u> Wbsdpg[10]   raam <u>samjhaa</u> *bsdpg

      ki is mE kis kaa doS hai

      have you heard? ram has figured out who is to blame

Most of these have stative[11] counterparts which do not ad-

8/ <u>bhuul jaa</u> is sometimes used as an intransitive with
dative (<u>ko</u>) of the agent:
a   mujhe yah baat <u>bhuul gaii</u> +dg   PJp   *bs
    i forgot this thing
as is <u>samajh</u> 'understand':
b   mujhe <u>samajh nahII aa rahaa thaa</u> ki use kis tarah
    Taalaa jaae (act 68) +bp   Delhi: +g
    i couldn't figure out how to get rid of him
This may have some connection with their preference for
compound manifestation with <u>jaa</u> rather than <u>le</u>.

9/ See section 4.4.1.

10/ Speaker g accepts i2 and j2 with <u>maanaa hai</u> and <u>sam-
jhaa hai</u> as synonymous with i1 and j1 respectively.
This suggests that in Hindi (as well as in Russian:
see section 4.1.3.fn 5) a perfective form may some-
times function as an alternative to a perfect form.
Unfortunately we could not pursue the question here.

11/ See section 4.3.2.6.

mit compound manifestation:

k 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? raam <u>maan jaataa hai</u> *bsdp

  2   Dg[12]   <u>maantaa hai</u> +bsdpg

      ki is mE tumhaaraa koii doS nahII hai

      have you heard? ram believes you weren't to blame

L 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? raam <u>samajh jaataa hai</u>

  2   *bsdp   Dg[13]   <u>samajhtaa hai</u> +bsdpg

      ki is mE kisii kaa doS nahII hai

      have you heard? ram's opinion is that no one is to

      blame in this

Given the distribution of the simple:compound opposition
in this non-overlapping semantic contrast (at least as
defined by the English glosses: <u>maan</u>:<u>maan jaa</u>::'believe':
'admit, agree'; <u>samajh</u>:<u>samajh jaa</u>::'believe, think':'re-
alize, figure out'), it follows that the expression of
the non-stative term of these contrasts will be "inherent-
ly" compound.[14]

    The verb <u>uub jaa</u> 'get sick of, become fed up with'
represents a class of verbs that all imply a refusal or
at least resistance to undertaking or continuing some ac-

12/ Acceptable to speaker g in the meaning: '...(nowadays)
    ram concedes that you weren't to blame' (iteration)

13/ Acceptable with an iterative non-stative meaning:
    '...ram becomes aware that no one is to blame': +g

14/ The stative counterpart of <u>bhuul jaa</u> is non-finite:
    a aaj ke log saansaarik waibhaw par <u>bhuule</u> hAI +pg
       people today are beguiled by worldly wealth *b

tivity. Included are <u>mukar jaa</u> 'refuse; renege', <u>Taal jaa</u> 'avoid', <u>uktaa jaa</u> 'become sick of', <u>bor ho jaa</u> 'become bored with', <u>gol kar jaa</u> 'beat around the bush about', etc. They are strongly tropic for compound manifestation:

m kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? siitaa apnii baat se

 1 2 <u>mukar gaii</u> +pgb   <u>mukrii</u> *pgb

   did you hear? sita went back on her word

n waise mujhe sab bataa detii hai lekin is baat ko

 1 2 <u>gol kar jaatii hai</u> +pgb <u>gol kartii hai</u> *pgb

   as a rule she tells me everything but this thing

   she avoids

o us ne apne pitaa ke lie khet par cabenaa le jaane

 1 2 se <u>manaa kar diyaa</u> +gpb <u>manaa kiyaa</u> *pb +g

   she refused to take the chabena to her father in

   the fields

Why these expressions should prefer a compound manifesta-

tion and that so strongly, too, remains a mystery to us.[15]

 Verbs of disappearance are also strongly compound-

tropic:

p 1 kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? siitaa <u>gaayab ho gaii</u>

 2 +sdpbg   <u>gaayab huii</u> *sdpbg

   did you hear? sita disappeared

15/ One might consider as speculation the idea that any
  positive expression of an essentially negative act
  (such as refusing, reneging, ignoring, etc.) is in-
  herently perfective because it is non-durative:
  a i am refusing to go now ?* i refuse to go now +
  and is by definition always "completed".

q 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? kisii ne baTuaa <u>kho diyaa</u>

  2   +sdpbg   <u>khoyaa</u> *sdpb   +g[16]

     you heard? someone lost the wallet

r 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? siitaa ghar se <u>bhaag gaii</u>

  2   +sdpbg   <u>bhaagii</u> *sdpbg

     have you heard? sita's run away from home

s 1   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? meraa baTuaa <u>kho gayaa</u>

  2   +sdpbg   <u>khoyaa</u> *spbg   +d

     did you hear? my wallet got lost/is missing

The operating factor in this tropism seems to be the per-
ceived irreversibility of the action. If the results of
performing the action seem irrevocable then the compound
is preferred in Hindi: (contrast t2 with u2)

t 1   mAI ne kuRaa us ke sir pai <u>phEk diyaa</u> +pbg

  2   <u>phEkaa</u> +g Wpb

     i threw the garbage on his head

u 1 2 mAI ne kuRaa <u>phEk diyaa</u> +pbg   <u>phEkaa</u> *pgb[17]

     i threw out the garbage

In set t the action expressed has merely displaced the
garbage from the speaker's hand to someone else's head.
It is still present and may come into the possession of

16/ Speaker g finds q2 acceptable provided <u>jaan bujh kar</u>
    'on purpose' is implied. See section 4.3.3.6.

17/ Speaker g accepts u2 if the interpretation is to be
    'only the garbage (and nothing else)'. See section
    4.3.2.2. Speaker b accepts u2 if the implication is
    <u>abhii phEkaa</u> 'threw it out just now'.

the speaker again (in fact, very likely it will). In set
u on the other hand the garbage has been gotten rid of;
it is gone once and for all and the speaker rules out
the possibility of its return by using the compound.[18]
Another example of revocable:irrevocable action:

v 1   mAI ne use ghumaane ke lie ghar se <u>nikaalaa</u> +bdpg

  2   <u>nikaal diyaa</u> *bdpg

      i took him out of the house for a walk

w 1   mAI ne use hameSaa ke lie ghar se <u>nikaal diyaa</u>

  2   +bdpg.   <u>nikaalaa</u> *bdpg

      i threw him out of the house forever

      It seems that intransitive verbs as a class show
a greater tendency toward compound manifestation than
transitive verbs do:

x   kyaa tumhE pataa calaa? kitaab taiyaar

  1 2 <u>kar dii gaii</u> +bgp   <u>kii gaii</u> +bg . *p

  3 4 <u>ho gaii</u> +bgp   <u>huii</u> *bgp

      did you hear? the book was made ready

If with further research this general tendency is borne
out, it may be possible to explain it as deriving from
the speaker's choosing an intransitive when he wishes to
express merely the result of an activity (cf x3) without
reference to the effort, duration or process of its per-

18/ Notice that in English we render the revocable:irre-
    vocable contrast with different lexical items: <u>phEk</u>:
    <u>phEk de</u>::'throw':'throw out'; <u>nikaal</u>:<u>nikaal de</u>::'take
    out'::'turn out, throw out'

formance and the transitive when he wishes to express such information. We have some evidence that attention to such features of the performance of an action tends to condition the simple verb.[19]

Assuming that we can account in one way or another for all these 'special' tendencies toward compound manifestation, we are left with a certain residual preference for the compound which encompasses almost all verbal expression in Hindi. If the marked influence of no simple environment is present, if the sentence is fairly simple (agent-(object)-verb) and final, and, most important, if there is no special stress or emphasis on any particular element in the sentence, then for almost all speakers almost all sentences sound noticeably better under compound manifestation:

y 1 2   <u>leT jaao</u> # +apbg   <u>leTo</u> # *b Wap +g   lie down!

z 1 2   raam biimaar <u>ho gayaa</u> # +sdpgb   <u>huaa</u> # *spgb +d[20]

        ram got sick

aa 1   siitaa ne apnaa naam <u>bataa diyaa</u> #   +pbg

   2   <u>bataayaa</u> # *pb[21]   +g

        sita told her name

19/ See sections 4.3.2.3, 4.3.2.8 and 4.1.2.fn 4.

20/ Speaker d accepts z2 as just as good as z1 if <u>raam</u> is being stressed or emphasized. See fn 1, this <u>section</u>.

21/ Compare sentence sets a and d in 4.3.1. There the greater number of elements provided speakers with greater opportunity to read contrast into them.

4.5 Concluding and other remarks

The fundamental thesis of this essay has been al-
luded to throughout Section Four: The relation of compound
to simple verb is a privative, aspectual one, with the
compound expressing completion of action. We have shown
that for all compound verbs the completion expressed is at
least relative (to other action); and for most, absolute[1].
The other functions or meanings of the compound verb may
be seen as deriving from (or at least as not contradict-
ing[2]) this aspectual function. Conversely, meanings that
demand expression with the simple verb have been shown to
conflict with the concept of completed action.

These meanings may be grouped as follows:

	simple verb	compound verb
meanings distributed without overlap	conation (4.2)	–
	'just barely' (4.3.4.3)	'almost' (4.3.4.3)
	relative non-completion (4.2.3; 4.3.4.1)	relative com-pletion (4.2.3; 4.3.4.1)
overlappingly distri-buted meanings	(absolute completion)	absolute com-pletion (4.2)

Although they usually have independent and explicit expres-
sion in the utterance, there are other meanings which con-

1/ The exceptions are discussed in section 4.2.2.

dition one or the other form of the verb. These are:

simple:	simple:	compound:
non-completion:	completion:	completion:
negation (4.3.2.1)	'only' (4.3.2.2)	'at last' (4.3.3.4)
states (4.3.2.6)	'with great diffi- culty' (4.3.2.3)	'so much so that' (4.3.3.3)
timeless verities (4.3.2.6)	'the first of all' (4.3.2.4)	'until' (4.3.3.5)
emotional experi- ence (4.4.1)	creation and dis- covery (4.3.2.5)	inadvertence (4.3.3.6)
	lack of prior knowledge (4.3.2.7)	mental changes (4.4.2)
	'once, twice, three times', etc. (4.3.2.8)	
	deixis (4.3.2.2)	

Finally there are purely syntactic constraints on the occurrence of the simple:compound verb:

	simple:	compound:
modal <u>sak</u>	yes	no
intensive -<u>e</u> (-<u>y@</u>)	no	yes
progressive	stem + <u>rah@ h-</u>	stem + -<u>e</u> (-<u>y@</u>) + <u>rah@ h-</u>

Of all of these conditions, the most intriguing, the one most deserving further investigation[3], and the one

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3/ Other questions deserving further investigation include: I. To what degree is a functionally equivalent system of compound verbs found in other Indo-Aryan languages? II. In Dravidian? III. In Tajiki? (cf 4.3.2.1.fn 13) IV. In Altaic? (See Masica 1971, pp 188ff) V. What further parallels can be drawn with the aspectual system in Slavic? VI. With the Hindi conjunctive sequence? (cf 4.2.3.aL) VII. The diachrony of the Hindi compound verb.

by virtue of which the aspectual system of Hindi may very well depart most from that of Slavic[4], is that considered under the rubric 'lack of prior knowledge' (4.3.2.7). It is this condition (for simple manifestation of the verb) that suggests that the use of the compound verb depends on more than how the contour of the action is perceived by the speaker. It suggests he must also have presupposed or pre-entertained the existence of the entities his utterance describes. In other words, the opposition simple:compound in the verb may depend on the contrast indefinite:definite with respect to associated nouns.

For example: As we have seen the Hindi equivalent of the question: 'Who came?' is unanimously preferred with a simple manifestation of the verb:

a 1 2   kaun aayaa +bsdgp   kaun aa gayaa *bsdgp

However, one speaker (p) finds a2 acceptable as a question about a specific gathering: in this case the questioner is presumed to have known beforehand that someone would come; he asks here for that person's identity. In al on the other hand (and which everybody interpreted as the response to a knock on the door), the speaker's ignorance about the identity of the person who has come is part of a greater ignorance: he knew neither that anyone was to come nor who that anyone might be. We might translate al as 'Who (if

4/ Data specifically bearing on this would have to be ga-
   thered from a speaker of a Slavic language.

anyone) came?' and a2 as 'Who was the one who came?'.

Another example, one that clarifies the relation
of 'lack of prior knowledge' to both 'at last' (4.3.3.4)
where action is intentionally (although perhaps unwilling-
ly) performed and 'involuntary acts' (4.3.3.6) where one
acts "without meaning to":

b 1   kal raat mAI ne ajiib baat <u>dekhii</u> +sdbpg

  2   <u>dekh lii</u> *sdbpg

       last night i saw a strange thing

c 1   kal raat mAI ne aap kaa upanyaas <u>dekhaa</u> +sdbpg

  2   <u>dekh liyaa</u> +sdbpg

     last night i saw / took a look at your book

Here respondents took c2 to mean either '(intentionally)
looked at' (p) or 'saw (by mistake)' (b). In either case,
they interpreted c2 as presupposing the existence of a
particular book which was either intended to be.or intended
not to be looked at. On the other hand, b2 describes what,
by the nature of things, could not have been forseen: the
speaker can have no intention either positive or negative
about seeing 'a strange thing'.[5]

5/ It is to this same contrast of unpresupposed:presupposed
   existence that the difference reported by Burton-Page in
   speakers' interpretations of a and b should be ascribed:
   a "kyaa us ne tumhE duudh <u>becaa</u>
       did he sell you any milk
   b kyaa us ne tumhE duudh <u>bec diyaa</u>
       did he sell you the milk (as previously agreed)?"
   (Burton-Page 1957, p 473). These two sentences are cited
   and discussed further in Hacker 1961, p 494, fn 5, and in
   Pořízka 1969, p 26.

In this section (4) we have attempted to provide
a methodical and objective demonstration of a hypothesis
offered by Vincenc Pořízka. In the course of examining
and elaborating his hypothesis we have encountered facts
that impel us to offer a supplementary hypothesis: the op-
position compound:simple verb in Hindi functions not only
to express aspectual contrast but in addition performs
the communicative functions which in English are associ-
ated with the oppositions some:any and the:a. We leave the
systematic demonstration or the conclusive refutation of
this hypothesis to our successors.